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WOODROW WILSON

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HISTORY

of the

AMERICAN NATION

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HENRY CABOT LODGE

BENJ. F. TRACY, AND OTHERS

EDITION DE LUXE

VOLUME VII

973
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THE act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting CHAP.
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copyright, in force August 24, 1912, provides that any 1912.
person entitled thereto, upon complying with the provisions of the law, shall have the exclusive right (a) to print, reprint, publish, copy and vend the copyrighted work; (b) to translate the copyrighted work or make any other version of it if it be a literary work; to dramatize it if it be a nondramatic work; to convert it into a novel or other nondramatic work if it be a drama; to arrange or adapt it if it be a musical work; to finish it if it be a model or design for a work of art; (c) to deliver or authorize the delivery of the copyrighted work if it be a lecture, sermon, address or similar production; (d) to perform the copyrighted work publicly if it be a drama or, if it be a dramatic work and not reproduced in copies for sale, to vend the manuscript or any record thereof; to make or to procure the making of any transcription or record thereof by which it may in any manner be exhibited, performed or produced, and to exhibit, perform

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or produce it in any manner whatsoever; (e) to perform the copyrighted work publicly for profit if it be a musical composition and for the purpose of public performance for profit and to make any arrangement or setting of it in any system of notation or any form of record in which the thought of an author may be read or reproduced.

So far as it secures copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, the law includes only compositions published after the act went into effect; it does not include the works of a foreign author or composer unless the country of which he is a citizen or subject grants similar rights to American citizens. Whenever the owner of a musical copyright has used or permitted the use of the copyrighted work upon the part of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, any other person may make a similar use of the work upon the payment to the owner of a royalty of 2 cents on each such part manufactured. The reproduction or rendition of a musical composition by or upon coin-operated machines shall not be deemed a public performance for profit unless a fee is charged for admission to the place where the reproduction occurs.

The works for which copyright may be secured include all the writings of an author.

The application for registration shall specify to which of the following classes the work in which copyright is claimed belongs:

- (a) Books, including composite and cyclopedic works, directories, gazetteers and other compilations.
- (b) Periodicals, including newspapers.
- (c) Lectures, sermons, addresses, prepared for oral delivery.
- (d) Dramatic or dramatic-musical compositions.
- (e) Musical compositions.
- (f) Maps.

- (g) Works of art; models or designs for works of art. CHAP. .
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- (h) Reproductions of a work of art. 1912.
- (i) Drawings or plastic works of a scientific or technical character.
- (j) Photographs.
- (k) Prints and pictorial illustrations.
- (l) Motion pictures and photoplays.

These specifications do not, however, limit the subject matter of copyright as defined in the law nor does any error in classification invalidate the copyright protection secured.

Copyright extends to the work of a foreign author or proprietor only in case he is domiciled in the United States at the time of the first publication of his work or if the country of which he is a citizen grants similar copyright protection to citizens of the United States.

Any person entitled thereto by the law may secure copyright for his work by publication thereof with the notice of copyright required by the act, and such notice shall be affixed to each copy published or offered for sale in the United States. Such person may obtain registration of his claim to copyright by complying with the provisions of the act, including the deposit of copies, whereupon the register of copyrights shall issue to him a certificate as provided for in the law. Copyright may also be had of the works of an author of which copies are not reproduced for sale by the deposit with claim of copyright of one complete copy, if it be a lecture or similar production, or a dramatic or musical composition; of a photographic print if it be a photograph, or of a photograph or other identifying reproduction thereof if it be a work of art or a plastic work or drawing.

After copyright has been secured there must be deposited in the copyright office in Washington, D. C., two complete copies of the best edition thereof, which copies, if the work be a book or periodical, shall have been pro-

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duced in accordance with the manufacturing provisions of the act, or if such work be a contribution to a periodical for which contribution special registration is requested, one copy of the issue or issues containing such contribution. Failure to deposit the copies within a given time after notice from the register of copyrights makes the proprietor of the copyright liable to a fine of \$100 and twice the retail price of the work, and the copyright becomes void.

The text of all books and periodicals specified in paragraphs (a) and (b) above, except the original text of a book of foreign origin in a language other than English, must in order to secure protection be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, either by hand, machinery or other process, and the printing of the text and the binding of the books must also be done within the United States. An affidavit of such manufacture is required.

The notice of copyright required consists either of the word "copyright" or the abbreviation "copr.," accompanied by the name of the copyright proprietor, and if the work be a printed literary, musical or dramatic work, the notice must also include the year in which the copyright was secured by publication. In the case, however, of copies of works specified in paragraphs (f) to (k) inclusive (given above) the notice may consist of the letter C inclosed within a circle, accompanied by the initials, monogram, mark or symbol of the copyright proprietor, provided his name appears elsewhere on the copies. In the case of a book or other printed publication the notice shall be applied on the title page or on the page immediately following, or if a periodical either upon the title page or upon the first page of text of each separate number or under the title heading; or if a musical work upon its title page or the first page of music.

Where the copyright proprietor has sought to comply with the law with respect to notice, the omission of such

notice by mistake from a particular copy or copies shall not invalidate the copyright or prevent recovery for infringement against any person who, after actual notice of the copyright, begins an undertaking to infringe it, but shall prevent the recovery of damages against an innocent infringer who has been misled by the omission of the notice.

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In the case of a book in English published abroad before publication in this country, the deposit in the copyright office within thirty days of one copy of the foreign edition, with a request for the reservation of the copyright, secures for the author or owner an ad interim copyright for thirty days after such deposit is made.

The copyright secured by the act endures for twenty-eight years from the date of the first publication. In the case of any posthumous work, periodical, encyclopedic or other composite work upon which the copyright was originally secured by the proprietor thereof, or of any work copyrighted by a corporate body, or by an employer for whom such work is made for hire, the proprietor of such copyright shall be entitled to a renewal of the copyright in such work for the further term of twenty-eight years when application for such renewal shall have been made within one year prior to the expiration of the original term. In the case of any other copyrighted work, including a contribution by an individual author to a periodical or to a cyclopedic or other composite work when such contribution has been separately copyrighted, the author of such work, if living, or the heirs, executors or next of kin, if the author be dead, shall be entitled to a renewal of the copyright for a further term of twenty-eight years. In default of such application for renewal, the copyright in any work shall end at the expiration of twenty-eight years.

If any person shall infringe the copyright in any work protected under the copyright laws of the United States, such person shall be liable:

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(a) To an injunction restraining such infringement.
(b) To pay to the copyright proprietor such damages as the copyright proprietor may have suffered due to the infringement, as well as all the profits which the infringer shall have made from such infringement, and in proving profits the plaintiff shall be required to prove sales only and the defendant shall be required to prove every element of cost which he claims, or in lieu of actual damages or profits such damages as to the court shall appear to be just, and in assessing such damages the court may, in its discretion, allow the amounts as hereinafter stated (in numbered paragraphs), but in the case of a newspaper reproduction of a copyrighted photograph such damages shall not exceed the sum of \$200 nor be less than \$50, and such damages shall in no other case exceed the sum of \$250 and shall not be regarded as a penalty :

1. In the case of a painting, statute or sculpture, \$10 for every infringing copy made or sold by or found in the possession of the infringer or his agents or employes;

2. In the case of any work enumerated in the list (given above) of works for which copyright may be asked, except a painting, statue or sculpture, \$1 for every infringing copy.

3. In the case of a lecture, sermon or address, \$50 for every infringing delivery.

4. In the case of dramatic or dramatico-musical or a choral or orchestral composition, \$100 for the first and \$50 for every subsequent infringing performance; in the case of other musical compositions, \$10 for every infringing performance.

(c) To deliver up on oath all articles alleged to infringe a copyright.

(d) To deliver up on oath for destruction all the infringing copies or devices, as well as all plates, molds, matrices or other means for making such infringing copies, as the court may order.

(e) Whenever the owner of a musical copyright has used or permitted the use of the copyrighted work upon the parts of musical instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, then in case of infringement by the unauthorized manufacture, use or sale of interchangeable parts, such as disks, rolls, bands or cylinders for use in mechanical music-producing machines, no criminal action shall be brought, but in a civil action an injunction may be granted upon such terms as the court may impose and the plaintiff shall be entitled to recover in lieu of profits and damages a royalty as provided in the act.

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Any person who shall willfully and for profit infringe any copyright, or willfully aid or abet such infringement, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for not exceeding one year or by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000, or both, in the discretion of the court. It is provided, however, that nothing in the act shall prevent the performance of religious or secular works, such as oratorios, cantatas, masses or octavo choruses by public schools, church choirs or vocal societies, provided the performance is for charitable or educational purposes and not for profit.

Any person who shall fraudulently place a copyright notice upon any uncopyrighted article, or shall fraudulently remove or alter the notice upon any copyrighted article, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be subject to a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000. Any person who shall knowingly sell or issue any article bearing a notice of United States copyright which has not been copyrighted in this country, or who shall knowingly import any article bearing such notice, shall be liable to a fine of \$100.

During the existence of the American copyright in any book the importation of any piratical copies thereof or of any copies not produced in accordance with the

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manufacturing provisions of the copyright law, or of any plates of the same not made from type set in this country, or any copies produced by lithographic or photo-engraving process not performed within the United States, is prohibited. Except as to piratical copies this does not apply :

(a) To works in raised characters for the blind ;

(b) To a foreign newspaper or magazine, although containing matter copyrighted in the United States printed or reprinted by authority of the copyright owner, unless such newspaper or magazine contains also copyright matter printed without such authorization ;

(c) To the authorized edition of a book in a foreign language of which only a translation into English has been copyrighted in this country ;

(d) To any book published abroad with the authorization of the author or copyright proprietor under the following circumstances :

1. When imported, not more than one copy at a time, for individual use and not for sale, but such privilege of importation shall not extend to a foreign reprint of a book by an American author copyrighted in the United States ;

2. When imported by or for the use of the United States ;

3. When imported, for use and not for sale, not more than one copy of any such book in any one invoice, in good faith, by or for any society or institution incorporated for educational, literary, philosophical, scientific or religious purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for any college, academy, school or seminary of learning, or for any state school, college, university or free public library in the United States ;

4. When such books form parts of libraries or collections purchased en bloc for the use of societies, institutions or libraries, or form parts of the library or per-

sonal baggage belonging to persons or families arriving from foreign countries and are not intended for sale. CHAP. CIV.

No criminal actions shall be maintained under the copyright law unless the same be begun within three years after the cause of action arose. 1912.

Copyright may be assigned, mortgaged or bequeathed by will.

There shall be appointed by the librarian of congress a register of copyrights at a salary of \$4,000 a year and an assistant register at \$3,000 a year.

These with their subordinate assistants shall perform all the duties relating to the registration of copyrights. The register of copyrights shall keep such record books in the copyright office as are required to carry out the provisions of the law, and whenever deposit has been made in the copyright office of a copy of any work under the provisions of the act he shall make entry thereof.

In the case of each entry the person recorded as the claimant of the copyright shall be entitled to a certificate of registration under seal of the copyright office.

The register of copyrights shall receive and the persons to whom the services designated are rendered shall pay the following fees: For the registration of any work subject to copyright, \$1, which sum is to include a certificate of registration under seal: Provided, that in the case of photographs the fee shall be 50 cents where a certificate is not demanded. For every additional certificate of registration made, 50 cents. For recording and certifying any instrument of writing for the assignment of copyright or license, or for any copy of such certificate or license, duly certified, if not over 300 words in length, \$1; if more than 300 and less than 1,000, \$2; if more than 1,000 words in length, \$1 additional for each 1,000 words or fraction thereof over 300 words. For recording the notice of user or acquiescence specified in the act, 25 cents for each notice of not over fifty words and an additional 25 cents for each additional 100 words. For com-

CHAP. paring any copy of an assignment with the record of such
CIV. document in the copyright office and certifying the same
1912. under seal, \$1. For recording the extension or renewal
of copyright, 50 cents. For recording the transfer of
the proprietorship of copyrighted articles, 10 cents for
each title of a book or other article in addition to the fee
for recording the instrument of assignment. For any
requested search of copyright office records, indexes or
deposits, 50 cents for each full hour consumed in mak-
ing such search. Only one registration at one fee shall be
required in the case of several volumes of the same book
deposited at the same time.

Copyright of a motion-picture photoplay may be had
by the deposit with the claim of copyright of a title and
description, with one print taken from each scene or act.
Copyright of a motion picture other than a photoplay
may be had by the deposit with the claim of copyright
of a title and description, with not less than two prints
taken from different sections of a complete motion pic-
ture. In the case of the infringement of an undramatized
or nondramatic work by means of motion pictures, where
the infringer shall show that he was not aware that he
was infringing and that such infringement could not have
been reasonably foreseen, the damages shall not exceed
\$100; in the case of the infringement of a copyrighted
dramatic or dramatico-musical work by a maker of
motion pictures and his agencies for the distribution
thereof to exhibitors, where such infringer shows that he
was not aware that he was infringing a copyrighted work,
the entire sum of damages recoverable shall not exceed
\$5,000, nor be less than \$250.

A patent may be obtained by any person who has in-
vented or discovered any new and useful art, machine,
manufacture or composition of matter, or any new and
useful improvement thereof not previously patented or
described in this or any other country, for more than two
years prior to his application, unless the same is proved

to have been abandoned. A patent may also be obtained for any new design for a manufacture, bust, statue, alto-relievo or bas-relief; for the printing of woolen, silk or other fabrics; for any new impression, ornament, pattern, print or picture to be placed on or woven into any article of manufacture; and for any new, useful and original shape or configuration of any article of manufacture, upon payment of fees and taking the other necessary steps.

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Applications for patents must be in writing, in the English language and signed by the inventor if alive. The application must include the first fee of \$15, a petition, specification and oath, and drawings, model or specimen when required. The petition must be addressed to the commissioner of patents and must give the name and full address of the applicant, must designate by title the invention sought to be patented, must contain a reference to the specification for a full disclosure of such invention and must be signed by the applicant.

The specification must contain the following in the order named: Name and residence of the applicant with title of invention; a general statement of the object and nature of the invention; a brief description of the several views of the drawings (if the invention admits of such illustration); a detailed description; claim or claims; signature of inventor and signatures of two witnesses. Claims for a machine and its product and claims for a machine and the process in the performance of which the machine is used must be presented in separate application, but claims for a process and its product may be presented in the same application.

The applicant, if the inventor, must make oath or affirmation that he believes himself to be the first inventor or discoverer of that which he seeks to have patented. The oath or affirmation must also state of what country he is a citizen and where he resides. In every original application the applicant must swear or affirm that the

CHAP. invention has not been patented to himself or to others
 CIV. with his knowledge or consent in this or any foreign
 1912. country for more than two years prior to his application,
 or on an application for a patent filed in any foreign
 country by himself or his legal representatives or assigns
 more than seven months prior to his application. If
 application has been made in any foreign country, full
 and explicit details must be given. The oath or affirma-
 tion may be made before any one who is authorized by
 the laws of this country to administer oaths.

Drawings must be on white paper with india ink and
 the sheets must be exactly 10x15 inches in size, with a
 margin of one inch. They must show all details clearly
 and without the use of superfluous lines.

Applications for reissues must state why the orig-
 inal patent is believed to be defective and tell precisely
 how the errors were made. These applications must be
 accompanied by the original patent and an offer to sur-
 render the same; or, if the original be lost, by an affi-
 davit to that effect and certified copy of the patent.
 Every applicant whose claims have been twice rejected
 for the same reasons may appeal from the primary ex-
 aminers to the examiners in chief upon the payment of a
 fee of \$10.

The duration of patents is for seventeen years except
 in the case of design patents, which may be for three and
 a half, seven or fourteen years, as the inventor may elect.

Caveats or notices given to the patent office of claims
 to inventions to prevent the issue of patents to other
 persons upon the same invention, without notice to
 caveators, may be filed upon the payment of a fee of \$10.
 Caveats must contain the same information as applica-
 tions for patents.

Schedule of fees and prices:

Original application	\$15.00
On issue of patent.....	20.00
Design patent (3½ years)	10.00

Design patent (7 years)	15.00	CHAP.
Design patent (14 years)	30.00	CIV.
Caveat	10.00	1912.
Reissue	30.00	
First appeal	10.00	
Second appeal	20.00	

For certified copies of printed patents:

Specifications and drawing, per copy	\$0.05
Certificate .....	.25
Grant .....	.50
For manuscript copies of records, per 100 words..	.10
If certified, for certificate.....	.25
Blue prints of drawings, 10x15, per copy .....	.25
Blue prints of drawings, 7x11, per copy .....	.15
Blue prints of drawings, 5x 8, per copy .....	.05
For searching records or titles, per hour.....	.50
For the Official Gazette, per year, in United States	5.00

Under the law passed by congress Feb. 20, 1905, and effective April 1, 1905, citizens of the United States, or foreigners living in countries affording similar privileges to citizens of the United States, may obtain registration of trade-marks used in commerce with foreign nations, or among the several states, or with Indian tribes, by complying with the following requirements: First, by filing in the patent office an application therefor in writing, addressed to the commissioner of patents, signed by the applicant, specifying his name, domicile, location and citizenship; the class of merchandise and the particular description of goods comprised in such class to which the trade-mark is appropriated; a statement of the mode in which the same is applied and affixed to goods, and the length of time during which the trade-mark has been used. With this statement shall be filed a drawing of the trade-mark, signed by the applicant or his attorney, and such number of specimens of the trade-mark as may be required by the commissioner of patents. Second, by paying into the treasury of the

CHAP. United States the sum of \$10 and otherwise complying
CIV. with the requirements of the law and such regulations
1912. as may be prescribed by the commissioner of patents.

The application must be accompanied by a written declaration to the effect that the applicant believes himself to be the owner of the trade-mark sought to be registered and that no other person or corporation has the right to use it; that such trade-mark is in use and that the description and drawing presented are correct. Trade-marks consisting of or comprising immoral or scandalous matter, the coat of arms, flag or other insignia of the United States or of any state or foreign nation cannot be registered. Fees for renewal of trade-marks and for filing opposition to registration are \$10 each; for appeals from examiners to the commissioner of patents, \$15 each.

Further information may be had by applying to the commissioner of patents, Washington, D. C.

For copyright blanks and additional information as to copyright regulations address the register of copyrights, library of congress, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER CV.

UNITED STATES MILITARY AND NAVAL ACADEMIES.

Object of the Institutions—Method of Obtaining Admission—Mental and Physical Requirements—Pay of the Cadets—Terms of Enlistment—Pay on Entering the Service—Chances of Promotion—Increase of Pay Conditional on Length of Service—Appointments from Civil Life—How Secured—The Essentials.

THEORETICALLY all appointments to officers' commissions in the regular army are confined to graduates of the United States military academy at West Point. In recent years, however, the number of graduates has not been large enough to fill the vacancies in the army and many commissions are given to young men in civil life. In 1912, 400 young men were thus commissioned. How they obtained entry into army life and their prospects will be treated of later in this chapter.

The United States military academy is a school for the practical and theoretical training of cadets for the military service of the United States. When any cadet has completed the course of four years satisfactorily he is eligible for promotion and commission as a second lieutenant in any arm or corps in the army in which there may be a vacancy, the duties of which he may have been judged competent to perform.

Appointments—Each congressional district and territory, including the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, is entitled to have one cadet at the academy. Each state is also entitled to have two cadets from the state at large

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CHAP. and forty are allowed from the United States at large.
CV. The law provides that for six years from July 1, 1910,
1912. whenever any cadet shall have finished three years of his course at the academy his successor may be admitted. The appointment from a congressional district is made upon the recommendation of the representative in congress from that district and those from the state at large upon the recommendations of the senators of the state. The appointments for the United States at large are made by the president upon his own selection. The appointment from the District of Columbia is made on the recommendation of the district commissioners and that from Porto Rico on the recommendation of the resident commissioner. Appointments are made one year in advance of admission. For each candidate appointed two alternates should be nominated. Four cadets from the Philippines are admitted.

It is the almost universal plan among congressmen and senators to select the candidates for admission by competitive examination. They may, of course, avail themselves of their privilege and name the candidates without examination, but the requirements for admission to the academy are so strict and exacting, and the failures following personal selection have been so numerous, that the competitive plan is now generally in vogue. By this means the official charged with the appointing power makes sure that the candidate he endorses has a reasonable chance of securing admission and the element of personal favoritism is largely removed. After the competitive examinations by which the candidates are selected there are further examinations to be undergone before the candidate is accepted as a cadet. These are held at West Point under the supervision of the superintendent of the academy as follows:

On the second Tuesday in January of each year the candidates selected for appointment must appear for mental and physical examination before boards of army

officers at such places as the war department may designate. Candidates who pass will be admitted to the academy on March 1 following.

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Mental Requirements—Each candidate must show that he is well versed in algebra, to include quadratic equations and progressions, plane geometry, English grammar, composition and literature, descriptive and physical geography and general and United States history.

Physical Requirements—No candidate will be admitted who is under 17 or over 22 years of age, or less than five feet four inches in height at the age of 17, or five feet five inches at the age of 18 and upward, or who is deformed or afflicted with any disease or infirmity which would render him unfit for military service. Candidates must be unmarried.

Pay—The pay of a cadet is \$600 a year and one ration a day, or commutation therefor at 30 cents a day. The total is \$709.50, to begin with his admission to the academy. No cadet is allowed to receive money or other supplies from his parents or from any other person without the sanction of the superintendent.

Enlistment—Before receiving his warrant of appointment a candidate for admission is required to sign an engagement to serve in the army of the United States eight years from the time of his admission to the academy.

Since the Spanish-American war, and the enlargement of the regular army, West Point has been unable to turn out enough competent cadets to properly officer the service. As a result many appointments have been made from civil life, the successful candidates taking exactly the same rank and enjoying the same pay and privileges as the graduates from the academy. There is an impression that the West Pointers resent this and are inclined to harrass and make it unpleasant for the civilian appointees. Years ago there was undoubtedly some truth in this assertion but the cause for it no longer

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exists, or has been reduced to an almost imperceptible minimum. West Pointers realize that there must, of necessity, be a large number of civilian appointees, and accept the situation gracefully. Treatment of an officer named from civil life without going through West Point depends entirely upon the individual. If he is a gentleman by instinct and practice, he will be treated as such; if not, he will be snubbed and ostracized.

Every year the head army officials notify the War Department how many new second lieutenants will be required to fill vacancies. When it is known how many graduates will be turned out from West Point the Secretary of War makes up a list showing how many appointments must be made from civil life. Young men with an aspiration for any army career then apply to their congressmen, senators, or other people of influence, to be certified for examination. These examinations are held at various times at the numerous headquarters throughout the United States, notice of the time and place being sent from Washington. The physical and mental requirements are exactly the same as those applying to West Point. Examinations are conducted by a board of army officers. An average of 82½ percent is necessary to pass.

Endorsed by the examining board the candidate receives a commission as a second lieutenant. His pay will then be \$141.67 per month, with no deductions for illness or furloughs. With every five years of service there is a ten percent increase in pay for all ranks under brigadier general. Thus a second lieutenant who has served twenty years receives \$198.33 per month. But service of this length in one rank is practically an impossibility. Promotion is reasonably sure to come as deaths are continually occurring among the older officers.

Retirement is compulsory at the age of 62, and may be enforced for disability at any time. Officers retired are advanced one grade and receive three-quarters of the pay and allowances of such grade. A second lieutenant

(unmounted) who is retired after five years' service gets ^{CHAP.} \$137.50 a month for life, three-quarters of the pay of a CV. first lieutenant. If retired before five years of service he ^{1912.} would get \$125.

Appointments as second lieutenants are also made from the ranks when the applicants can show their fitness.

Officers for the navy are furnished almost exclusively by the United States naval academy at Annapolis. This is conducted on about the same basis as the military academy. The students are styled midshipmen. The course of study is six years—four years at the academy and two years at sea—at the expiration of which time the examination for final graduation takes place. Midshipmen who pass are appointed to fill vacancies in the lower grades of the line of the navy, and occasionally to fill vacancies in the marine corps and in certain of the staff corps of the navy.

Appointments—Two midshipmen have been allowed for each senator, representative and delegate in congress, two for the District of Columbia and five each year from the United States at large. The appointments from the District of Columbia and five each year at large are made by the president. One midshipman is allowed from Porto Rico, who must be a native of that island. The appointment is made by the president on the recommendation of the governor of Porto Rico. After June 30, 1913, each senator, representative and delegate in congress is allowed to appoint but one midshipman instead of two. Candidates must be actual residents of the districts from which they are nominated.

Examinations—Two examinations for the admission of midshipmen are held each year. The first is held on the third Tuesday in April under the supervision of the civil service commission at certain specified points in each state and territory. All those qualifying mentally, who are entitled to appointment in order of nomination,

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will be notified by the superintendent of the naval academy when to report at the academy for physical examination, and if physically qualified will be appointed. The second and last examination is held on the third Tuesday in June at Annapolis, Md. Alternates are given the privilege of reporting for mental examination at the same time as the principals. Examination papers are all prepared at the academy and the examinations of candidates are finally passed upon by the academic board. Certificates from colleges and high schools will not be accepted in lieu of the entrance examinations at the naval academy.

Mental Requirements—Candidates will be examined in punctuation, spelling, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, United States history, world's history, algebra through quadratic equations and plane geometry (five books of Chauvenet's geometry or an equivalent).

Physical Requirements—All candidates must, at the time of their examination for admission, be between the ages of 16 and 20 years. A candidate is eligible for appointment the day he becomes 16 and is ineligible on the day he becomes 20 years of age. Candidates are required to be of good moral character, physically sound, well formed and of robust constitution. The height of candidates for admission must not be less than five feet two inches between the ages of 16 and 18 years, and not less than five feet four inches between the ages of 18 and 20 years. The minimum weight at 16 years is 105 pounds with an increase of five pounds for each additional year or fraction of a year over one-half. Candidates must be unmarried.

Pay—The pay of a midshipman is \$600 a year, beginning at the date of his admission. Midshipmen must supply themselves with clothing, books, etc., the total expense of which amounts to \$280.64. Traveling expenses to the academy are paid by the government.

Enlistment—Each midshipman on admission is re-

quired to sign articles by which he binds himself to serve in the United States navy eight years (including his time of probation at the naval academy). CHAP.
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Pay of the higher grade of naval officers is more liberal than those of corresponding rank in the army. The admiral (commandant of the navy) receives \$13,000 a year, while the lieutenant general of the army gets \$11,000. The rate of pay for retired officers is about the same in both branches of service.

CHAPTER CVI.

OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES.

What Travelers May Bring Into the Country—Articles Free of Duty—Unconscious Smuggling—Rules Laid Down by the Treasury Department—Rights of Citizens and Non-Citizens—Declarations of Baggage—Contested Valuations—Baggage for Transportation in Bond—Certain Kinds of Sealskins Prohibited From Importation—Penalty for Not Declaring Articles.

CHAP. IN order that travelers returning to, or visiting this
CVI. country temporarily, may understand what articles they
1912. are entitled to bring in without the payment of duty, and those on which duty must be paid, the Treasury Department has issued an official notice of its rules governing the same. This was made necessary by the numerous conflicts which were continually arising between the customs officials and travelers, there being many attempts made to defraud the government. In a large number of instances these attempts were doubtless due to ignorance, or misconception on the part of travelers as to their privileges in the matter of passing goods duty free. In numerous other instances they were undoubtedly due to deliberate attempts to mislead and hoodwink the customs inspectors, the offenders, when detected, claiming they had acted innocently. In order to remove any cause for friction and make the conditions so plain there can be no chance of a misunderstanding, the official notice referred to was prepared and issued.

Every traveler is supposed to become acquainted with

the provisions of this notice, and any attempt to pass goods in violation of its terms will be treated as a deliberate effort at smuggling. No ordinary excuse of ignorance or misconception of the provisions will be accepted.

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Residents of the United States must declare all articles which have been obtained abroad by purchase or otherwise, whether used or unused, and whether on their persons, in their clothing, or in their baggage. The foreign value of each article, stated in United States money, must also be declared.

Articles taken from the United States and remodeled, repaired or improved abroad must be declared and the cost of such remodeling, repairing or improving must be separately stated.

The following articles are dutiable:

Household effects, including books, pictures, furniture, tableware, table linen, bed linen and other similar articles, unless used abroad by the owner for a period of a year or more.

Goods in the piece.

Articles of any nature intended for sale or for other persons.

The following articles are free if under \$100 in value and if necessary for comfort and convenience for the purposes of the journey and not for sale nor for other persons:

Clothing.

Toilet articles, such as combs, brushes, soaps, cosmetics, shaving and manicure sets, etc.

Personal adornments, jewelry, etc.

Similar personal effects, which may include cameras, canes, fishing tackle, glasses (field, opera, marine), golf sticks, guns, musical instruments, parasols, photographs, smokers' articles, steamer rugs and shawls, toys, trunks, valises, etc.

Clothing and other personal effects taken out of the United States by the passenger if not increased in value

CHAP. or improved in condition while abroad. If increased in
CVI. value or improved in condition, they are dutiable on the
1912. cost of the repairs.

The above lists of articles which are dutiable and non-dutiable are stated for the assistance of passengers and are not exhaustive. All articles are dutiable unless specifically exempted by law.

Pack in one trunk, if practicable, all dutiable articles.

Receipted bills for foreign purchases should be presented whenever possible.

Use does not exempt from duty wearing apparel or other articles obtained abroad, but such articles will be appraised at their value in the condition as imported, due allowance being made for depreciation through wear and use.

Wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles and similar personal effects of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall only include such articles as actually accompany and are in the use of, and as are necessary and appropriate for the wear and use of such persons, for the immediate purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience, and shall not be held to apply to merchandise or articles intended for other persons or for sale; provided, that in case of residents of the United States, returning from abroad, all wearing apparel and other personal effects taken by them out of the United States to foreign countries shall be admitted free of duty, without regard to their value, upon their identity being established, under appropriate rules and regulations to be prescribed by the secretary of the treasury, but no more than \$100 in value of articles purchased abroad by such residents of the United States shall be admitted free of duty upon their return.

Nonresidents of the United States are entitled to bring in free of duty, without regard to the \$100 exemption, such articles as are in the nature of wearing apparel,

articles of personal adornment, toilet articles and similar personal effects, necessary and appropriate for their wear and use for the purposes of the journey and present comfort and convenience and which are not intended for other persons or for sale. CHAP.
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Citizens of the United States or persons who have at any time resided in this country shall be deemed to be residents of the United States unless they shall have abandoned their residence in this country and acquired an actual bona fide residence in a foreign country.

Such citizens or former residents who desire the privileges granted by law to nonresidents must show to the satisfaction of the collector's representative on the pier, subject to the collector's approval, that they have given up their residence in the United States and that they have become bona fide residents of a foreign country.

The residence of a wife follows that of the husband, and the residence of a minor child follows that of its parents.

Household effects of persons or families from foreign countries will be admitted free of duty only if actually used abroad by them not less than one year, and if not intended for any other person, nor for sale. Such effects should be declared whether the passenger be a resident or a nonresident of the United States.

Articles intended for use in business or for other persons, theatrical apparel, properties and sceneries, must be declared by passengers, whether residents or nonresidents.

All cigars and cigarettes must be declared. Each passenger over 18 years of age may bring in free of duty 50 cigars or 300 cigarettes if for the bona fide use of such passenger. Such cigars and cigarettes will be in addition to the articles included within the \$100 exemption.

The law provides that every person entering the United States shall make a declaration and entry of his or her personal baggage. The law further requires that

CHAP. the values of articles shall be determined by customs
CVI. officers, irrespective of the statements of passengers rela-
1912. tive thereto.

It will thus be seen that there is no discourtesy in the requirement that both a declaration and an independent appraisal shall be made. Taken together, these requirements place the passenger in the same position as any other importer of merchandise.

Passengers should observe that on the sheet given them there are two forms of declarations: the one printed in black is for residents of the United States; the one in red, for nonresidents.

The exact number of pieces of baggage, including all trunks, valises, boxes, packages and hand bags of any description accompanying the passenger, must be stated in the declaration.

The senior member of a family, present as a passenger, may make declaration for the entire family.

Ladies traveling alone should state that fact in their declarations in order that an expeditious examination of their baggage may be made.

When the declaration is prepared and signed, the coupon at the bottom of the form must be detached and retained by the passenger, and the form given to the officer of the ship designated to receive the same. A declaration spoiled in its preparation must not be destroyed, but turned over to the purser, who will furnish a new blank to the passenger.

After all the baggage and effects of the passenger have been landed upon the pier, the coupon which has been retained by the passenger must be presented at the inspector's desk, whereupon an inspector will be detailed to examine the baggage. Passengers must acknowledge in person, on the pier, their signature to their declarations.

Examination of any baggage may be postponed if the

passenger requests the officer taking his declaration to have it sent to the appraiser's store. CHAP.
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Passengers must not deduct the \$100 exemption in making out their declaration. Such deductions will be made by customs officers on the pier. 1912.

Passengers dissatisfied with values placed upon dutiable articles by the customs officers on the pier may demand a re-examination, but application therefor should be immediately made to the officers there in charge. If for any reason this course is impracticable, the packages containing the articles should be left in customs custody and application for reappraisement made to the collector of customs, in writing, within ten days after the original appraisement. No request for reappraisement can be entertained after the articles have been removed from customs custody.

Currency (or certified checks after June 1, 1911) only can be accepted in payment of duties, but, upon request, baggage will be retained on the piers for twenty-four hours to enable the owner to secure currency or certified checks.

The offering of gratuities or bribes to customs officers is a violation of law. Customs officers who accept gratuities or bribes will be dismissed from the service and all parties concerned will be liable to criminal prosecution.

Discourtesy or incivility on the part of customs officers should be reported to the collector at the custom house, to the deputy collector or the deputy surveyor at the pier, or to the secretary of the treasury.

Baggage intended for delivery at ports in the United States other than the port of arrival, or in transit through the United States to a foreign country, may be forwarded thereto without the assessment of duty at the port of arrival, by the various railroads and express companies, whose representatives will be found on the pier.

Passengers desiring to have their baggage forwarded in bond should indicate such intention and state the

CHAP. value thereof in their declarations before any examination
CIV. of the baggage has been made.

1912. An act of congress of 1897, as amended in 1910, expressly forbids the importation into the United States of garments made in whole or in part of the skins of seals taken in the waters of the Pacific ocean; and unless the owner is able to establish by competent evidence and to the satisfaction of the collector that the garments are not prohibited, they cannot be admitted.

Under sections 2802 and 3082 of the revised statutes of the United States articles obtained abroad and not declared are subject to seizure, and the passenger is liable to criminal prosecution.

CHAPTER CVII.

PUBLIC LANDS OPEN TO SETTLEMENT.

Common Belief that Government Lands Are Exhausted a Fallacy—Best Are Occupied, but There Is a Large Area Left—Nearly 700,000,000 Acres Available—Location by States—Surveyed and Unsurveyed Territory—Nature of the Lands—Changes in the Homestead Law—Conditions Under Which Homestead Right May Be Exercised—Length of Residence Reduced—Settlement of Non-Irrigable Lands—The Carey Land Act—Work Accomplished Under It—A Notable Work of Irrigation.

THERE is a widespread misapprehension as to the actual condition of the public domain. The general belief is that the free land is exhausted. This is an error. There was, on July 1st, 1912, nearly 700,000,000 acres of Federal lands, to be exact, 682,984,762 acres left. Of this vast area 185,362,030 acres had been surveyed and were open to settlement. The remainder, 467,622,732 acres, was unsurveyed and consequently not immediately available to settlers.

It is undeniable that the best and most easily accessible of the public lands have been occupied. The larger part of that remaining open to settlement is not particularly attractive but, under proper conditions of cultivation, may be made profitable. In some instances irrigation is required, in others drainage, and in others a clearing of timber and underbrush. The authorities of the general land office at Washington have issued the following statement showing the extent and location of these lands:

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CHAP. CVII.		Surveyed.	Unsurveyed.	Total.
	State or territory.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1912.	Alabama	93,040	1,600	94,640
	Alaska		*368,010,643	368,010,643
	Arizona	12,003,186	28,592,537	40,595,723
	Arkansas	436,210	82,000	518,210
	California	17,671,839	5,343,499	23,015,338
	Colorado	17,684,401	1,564,797	19,249,198
	Florida	240,408	155,531	396,439
	Idaho	7,172,856	11,757,537	18,970,393
	Kansas	91,328	.....	91,328
	Louisiana	69,198	.....	69,198
	Michigan	92,544	.....	92,544
	Minnesota	1,525,775	.....	1,525,775
	Mississippi	52,400	.....	52,400
	Missouri	1,197	.....	1,197
	Montana	13,697,086	15,356,909	29,053,995
	Nebraska	832,750	.....	832,750
	Nevada	28,844,824	26,230,679	55,075,503
	New Mexico	22,241,833	11,329,650	33,571,483
	North Dakota	1,354,571	.....	1,354,571
	Oklahoma	39,525	.....	39,525
	Oregon	13,141,921	3,346,148	16,888,069
	South Dakota	4,039,892	81,920	4,121,812
	Utah	12,011,921	22,037,256	34,049,177
	Washington	1,106,783	761,306	1,868,089
	Wisconsin	11,520	.....	11,520
	Wyoming	30,905,022	2,570,720	33,475,742

Grand total 185,362,030 497,622,732 682,984,762

*The unreserved lands in Alaska are mostly unsurveyed and unappropriated.

The unoccupied public lands in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Missouri, are mostly more or less under water, and are designated as swamps. In many instances efforts are being made on an extensive scale to reclaim these swamp lands by drainage. If suc-

cessful, and there is strong prospect that they will be, a large amount of fertile and highly productive territory will be thrown open to settlement. Climatic conditions are such as to make life in these sections attractive, and with the land put in shape so it may be easily cultivated there is sure to be a rush for homes.

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Public lands in California, Colorado, Kansas, Montana, North and South Dakota, Idaho, and Utah as a rule require irrigation before they are fit to live on and will respond to cultivation. Where water has been systematically and intelligently applied the results, almost without exception, have been highly satisfactory. In some sections dry farming methods have been adopted with success, but irrigation seems to be the one thing generally needful.

Arizona, New Mexico, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Nevada lands—that is the unoccupied Government lands—are mostly barren wastes of sand fit only for grazing purposes and not particularly good for that. A few years ago there was a lot of good public land to be had in Nebraska but it has all been taken up. Land which, in the late 70's and early 80's was settled by "homesteaders" in the Valley of the Blue, and cost nothing beyond the filing and proving-up fees, is now selling readily at from \$125 to \$150 an acre.

Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington and Oregon lands are mostly timbered and require clearing. It is, as a rule, good land, but the cost of getting it ready for the plow acts as a deterrent to settlers. There are nearly 40,000 acres of public lands left open in Oklahoma. The best of the public domain in this state is occupied; the cream has been skimmed off, but in the near future settlers will think themselves lucky to get what is now left. Alaska is, as yet, an unknown quantity.

In June, 1912, the homestead law was amended by reducing the time of residence necessary to secure a patent from five to three years, and allowing entrymen

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and their families to be absent from their claims five months in each year. In Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, and California a homesteader has the right to take up 320 acres instead of 160, provided the land is non-mineral and non-irrigable, and does not contain merchantable timber.

Any person who is the head of a family, or who is 21 years old and is a citizen of the United States or has filed his declaration of intention to become such, and who is not the proprietor of more than 160 acres of land in any state or territory, is entitled to enter one-quarter section (160 acres) or less quantity of unappropriated public land under the homestead laws. The applicant must make affidavit that he is entitled to the privileges of the homestead act and that the entry is made for his exclusive use and for actual settlement and cultivation, and must pay the legal fee and that part of the commission required, as follows: Fee for 160 acres, \$10; commission, \$4 to \$12. Fee for eighty acres, \$5; commission, \$2 to \$6. Within six months from the date of entry the settler must take up his residence upon the land and cultivate the same for three years continuously. At the expiration of this period, or within two years thereafter, proof of residence and cultivation must be established by four witnesses. The proof of settlement, with the certificate of the register of the land office, is forwarded to the general land office at Washington, from which a patent is issued. Final proof cannot be made until the expiration of three years from date of entry, and must be made within five years. The government recognizes no sale of a homestead claim. After the expiration of fourteen months from date of entry the law allows the homesteader to secure title to the tract, if so desired, by paying for it in cash and making proof of settlement, residence and cultivation for that period. The law allows only one homestead privilege to any one person.

June 10th, 1905, congress adopted what is known as

the Carey Act. This has made possible the settlement and cultivation of millions of acres of desert lands, and the upbuilding of a large number of thriving towns and cities. Under the provisions of this act the Federal government cedes to each of the Western states willing to take advantage of its terms, one million acres of desert lands. The state holding such land, may then cause to be constructed by the state or private enterprise, irrigation plants to supply water to the land. This done, the land is sold to actual settlers at a nominal price, plus the cost of a perpetual water right. Explanation of the plan in vogue at Twin Falls, Idaho, one of the most famous and successful of these projects, will serve to illustrate the general method.

The state of Idaho contracted with a private concern to construct four irrigation plants along the Snake river in what is known as the Twin Falls country. These plants made possible the cultivation of 650,000 acres. The land was sold by the state to settlers in tracts of 160 acres and less at 50 cents an acre. The irrigation company got from \$35 to \$60 an acre for a perpetual water right, according to the location of the land. This amount is paid in from ten to twelve annual installments. On the South Side project at Twin Falls the price is \$60, plus 50 cents an acre for the state. The first payment on a 40-acre tract (the usual size) is \$131, which includes \$1 fee for recording the contract. When all the rights have been sold and paid for the settlers own the irrigation plant as well as the land and are at no further expense except that of maintenance.

In southern Idaho this plan has been found to work exceptionally well. The country is dotted with highly productive farms and orchards. A dozen or more prosperous towns and cities exist. The most notable of these is the city of Twin Falls, a modern, well-built, handsome place of from 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. Seven years

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CHAP. ago (at this writing) where Twin Falls now stands was
CVII. a barren sagebrush plain.

1912. The work of irrigation done here will stand as a monument to American enterprise. Building of dams, canals, and power houses cost, for the four projects, an aggregate of \$18,000,000. It is unquestionably the most solid, substantial work of the kind in the world.

CHAPTER CVIII.

WORKINGS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE ACT.

Causes Which Led to Its Adoption.—Prostitution of Public Office in the Interest of Politicians.—Abuses in the Service.—Matters Which Aroused Indignation.—Prominent Part Taken by Carl Schurz.—Adoption of the Civil Service Act in 1883.—Scope of the Measure.—Principal Provisions.—Object of the Law.—How It is Overcome by Tricksters.—Reform in Methods Only Partial.—Details of Operation.

IN the late 70's and early 80's the conditions attaching to the holding of public appointive office under the Federal government had become so bad as to create a public scandal of no mean proportions. The people were aroused throughout the land and there was a widespread demand for a change. The filling of public office, Federal as well as state, county, and local, had come to be looked upon as a perquisite of the politicians to be dealt out among their supporters as a reward for efforts at the polls. Efficiency, fitness for the duties of the place, was lost sight of. It became merely a question of how many votes an applicant could control; of how useful he could make himself at election time. Senators, congressmen, governors, as well as minor officials with appointive power, were all following this practice, a survival, intensified with age in its objectionable features, of the old Jacksonian theory of "To the victor belongs the spoils."

In the days of Jackson, bad as this practice was in

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CHAP. CVIII. theory, its effect was not so disastrous to the public good as in more recent years. When Jackson was president

1912. the country was comparatively small, and its interests of much lesser account, than in the days of Hayes, Garfield, Cleveland, and their successors. People gave less attention to the manner in which they were served by appointive officials. It had come to be an accepted belief that each change in administration must, of necessity, bring with it sweeping, radical changes in the staffs of public employees. It was accepted as a matter of course that the adherents of the losers must step down and out, making place for those who had supported the winners. This rule obtained even when the changes in administration were purely personal, the politics of the incomers being the same as that of those whom they succeeded. As might be expected this led to a disgraceful condition of affairs. Public office became a matter of outright sale, not for cash, but as a reward for political service. It became so bad that high public officials of all grades looked upon the filling of places of all kinds as a personal belonging not to be questioned. If they recommended a person for office that person must be appointed, regardless of competency to fill the position, and often of moral character.

This was the condition when a little band of men headed by Carl Schurz and George William Curtis, began a fight for reform which finally ended with the adoption of the Civil Service Act, January 16, 1883, when Chester A. Arthur was president as the successor to the murdered Garfield. Under the provisions of this act it is sought to make fitness and character the sole test of qualification for office without reference to political backing, and to guarantee permanency in place notwithstanding change in administration. In other words merit, not the ukase or desire of politicians, is the deciding factor.

There is a board of civil service commissioners named

by the president who classify and arrange the positions in the various departments of the government. These commissioners appoint a chief examiner who in turn selects a staff of assistant examiners by whom all candidates for public office are examined, those standing at the head of the list as regards percentage being considered eligible to appointment at the first opportunity. Once definitely in place an appointee is safe from removal except for cause and reasons given in writing.

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General Rules—The fundamental rules governing appointments to government positions are found in the civil-service act itself. Based upon these are many other regulations formulated by the commission and promulgated by the president from time to time as new contingencies arise. The present rules were approved March 20, 1903, and went into effect April 15, 1903. In a general way they require that there must be free, open examinations of applicants for positions in the public service; that appointments shall be made from those graded highest in the examinations; that appointments to the service in Washington shall be apportioned among the states and territories according to population; that there shall be a period (six months) of probation before any absolute appointment is made; that no person in the public service is for that reason obliged to contribute to any political fund or is subject to dismissal for refusing to so contribute; that no person in the public service has any right to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person. Applicants for positions shall not be questioned as to their political or religious beliefs and no discrimination shall be exercised against or in favor of any applicant or employe on account of his religion or politics. The classified civil service shall include all officers and employees in the executive civil service of the United States except laborers and persons whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the senate.

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Examinations—These are conducted by boards of examiners chosen from among persons in government employ and are held twice a year in all the states and territories at convenient places. In Illinois, for example, they are usually held at Cairo, Chicago and Peoria. The dates are announced through the newspapers or by other means. They can always be learned by applying to the commission or to the nearest postoffice or custom house. Those who desire to take examinations are advised to write to the commission in Washington for the "Manual of Examinations," which is sent free to all applicants. It is revised semiannually to Jan. 1 and July 1. The January edition contains a schedule of the spring examinations and the July edition contains a schedule of the fall examinations. Full information is given as to the methods and rules governing examinations, manner of making application, qualifications required, regulations for rating examination papers, certification for and chances of appointment, and as far as possible it outlines the scope of the different subjects of general and technical examinations. These are practical in character and are designed to test the relative capacity and fitness to discharge the duties to be performed. It is necessary to obtain an average percentage of 70 to be eligible for appointment, except that applicants entitled to preference because of honorable discharge from the military or naval service for disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty need obtain but 65 per cent. The period of eligibility is one year.

Qualifications of Applicants—No person will be examined who is not a citizen of the United States; who is not within the age limitations prescribed; who is physically disqualified for the service which he seeks; who has been guilty of criminal, infamous, dishonest or disgraceful conduct; who has been dismissed from the public service for delinquency and misconduct or has

failed to receive absolute appointment after probation; who is addicted to the habitual use of intoxicating liquors to excess, or who has made a false statement in his application. The age limitations in the more important branches of the public service are: Postoffice, 18 to 45 years; rural letter carriers, 17 to 55; internal revenue, 21 years and over; railway mail, 18 to 35; lighthouse, 18 to 50; life saving, 18 to 45; general departmental, 20 and over. These age limitations are subject to change by the commission. They do not apply to applicants of the preferred class. Applicants for the position of railway mail clerk must be at least 5 feet 6 inches in height, exclusive of boots or shoes, and weigh not less than 135 pounds in ordinary clothing and have no physical defects. Applicants for certain other positions have to come up to similar physical requirements.

Method of Appointment—Whenever a vacancy exists the appointing officer makes requisition upon the civil-service commission for a certification of names to fill the vacancy, specifying the kind of position vacant, the sex desired and the salary. The commission thereupon takes from the proper register of eligibles the names of three persons standing highest of the sex called for and certifies them to the appointing officer, who is required to make the selection. He may choose any one of the three names, returning the other two to the register to await further certification. The time of examination is not considered, as the highest in average percentage on the register must be certified first. If after a probationary period of six months the name of the appointee is continued on the roll of the department in which he serves the appointment is considered absolute.

Removals—No person can be removed from a competitive position except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the public service and for reasons given in writing. No examination of witnesses nor any trial

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CHAP. shall be required except in the discretion of the officer
CVIII. making the removal.

1912. Salaries—Entrance to the department service is usually in the lowest grades, the higher grades being generally filled by promotion. The usual entrance grade is about \$900, but the applicant may be appointed at \$840, \$760 or even \$600.

Sixteen of the principal departments in the Federal service are directly under civil service. These, at Washington, give employment to 33,811 people. The same departments employ in service outside of the national capital 363,159 people, making a grand total of 396,790. In addition to this civil service in some form has been generally adopted by states and municipalities throughout the country and may be said to be now in general effect.

This condition is undeniably a vast improvement over that which prevailed previous to the passage of the act, but there is still room for betterment. This betterment must come in the form of a more rigid enforcement of the law. The provisions are fairly adequate if thoroughly lived up to, but unfortunately human nature is weak and in many instances there is a strong desire among those in authority to evade the law. This does not apply to those charged with its interpretation or enforcement, but rather to the heads of bureaus under whose control civil service employees immediately come. The commissioners, examiners, and officials of that class are without exception of irreproachable integrity. As much, unfortunately, cannot be said of many superintendents and bureau chiefs. With these politics is still an important factor in filling offices despite the best intention and effort of the heads of departments.

A is the superintendent, or foreman, of a bureau who feels kindly toward a certain politician. There is a vacancy in A's office which the politician desires one of his henchmen to fill. A reports to his superior that

he needs help, and the latter makes a requisition on the civil service commission. The latter body sends in the names of three eligible candidates. The politician's friend is not among them. Appointments must be made in the order in which the candidates stand on the list, but these appointments are probationary. It rests with the immediate supervising officer (who in this case is A) to say whether any of the candidates are satisfactory. He may report adversely on any of the probationary candidates at his pleasure. This is done until the politician's friend is reached. The latter is put at work, serves his probationary term of six months without opposition and thus becomes a regular civil service appointee. It matters not that those who preceeded him in the place were fully as competent, if not more so. They did not suit the official in charge, because his politician friend wanted the place for his man. There are restrictions to the extent to which this abuse may be worked as the person whom it is desired to thus favor must first pass the examination, but the method here explained tends to defeat the purpose of the law by sidetracking competent candidates in favor of those who have strong political backing.

Provision that any employee, even after final appointment, may be removed without trial at the will of the official in charge is another questionable feature. All that is necessary is for the official to assign cause in writing. Some method of enforcing discipline must, of course, be maintained, but it seems that this could be secured by merely suspending the objectionable employee without prejudice until the commission itself passes on the case.

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CHAPTER CIX.

THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST ACT.

Nature of the Law.—Why It Was Adopted.—Restraint on Monopolies.—Acts Which Constitute Offenses.—Penalties Provided.—Heavy Fines and Imprisonment.—Jurisdiction of Federal Courts.—Damages for Injuries to Business or Property.—Measure of Damages.—Offenders Liable in Three Times the Amount of Actual Loss.—Summoning of Witnesses.—How Proceedings May Be Brought.—Seizure and Condemnation of Contraband Property.—Duties of United States District Attorneys.

CHAP. CIX. NUMEROUS efforts have been made by interested parties, particularly railways, to secure nullifying amendments to the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and to obtain court decisions setting aside some of its provisions, but all have failed. The act remains in effect today just as it was adopted in 1890, and its legality has been repeatedly upheld by the supreme court of the United States. At that time monopoly was rife in this country. It had become practically impossible for independent concerns in certain lines to transact business on a profitable basis. If the patronage was attractive efforts were made to buy the plant and consolidate it with competitors. Should these efforts fail a war of extermination was waged.

Gradually all profitable lines of business were being consolidated. Independent operators found it did not pay to attempt to fight or ignore that unseen, but greatly felt, influence, "the trust." The price offered by the latter for an attractive business was not always ade-

quate, the terms of consolidation not always equitable, but it was generally more advisable to accept than to reject them. As the monopolies grew in size and power there was an increase in the price of products. There was one notable exception. The Standard Oil Company actually lessened the cost of oil to the consumer. But this result, it is claimed, was obtained by a heartless, relentless war on the producers of crude oil, enabling the Standard to sell it at so low a price that all competition was stifled. Aside from this consumers asserted that the erection of monopolies was distinctly noticeable in the increased cost of living.

It seemed impossible to get at the real cause of the advance in price of commodities. The manufacturer had two excuses: There was a scarcity of raw material and the producer naturally demanded higher values; then the railways demanded absurdly high charges for the transportation service they furnished. These interests—the producers and the railways—in turn insisted that they were doing business on as small a basis of profit as possible, and between the three factors the ultimate consumer suffered.

It was this situation which the anti-trust law was intended primarily to relieve. It is only fair to state that it has not done so to the extent expected. It has made the formation and continuation of trusts difficult, if not impossible. It has simplified the transaction of business on an equitable basis, but the era of high prices still continues. The law reads:

Section 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprison-

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CHAP. ment not exceeding one year, or by both said punish-
CIX. ments, in the discretion of the court.

1912. Sec. 2. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize or combine or conspire with any person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce in any territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such territory and another, or between any such territory or territories and any state or states or the District of Columbia or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any state or states or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent or restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the attorney-general, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court

shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

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Sec. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section 4 of this act may be pending that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpoenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

Sec. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section 1 of this act and being in the course of transportation from one state to another or to a foreign country shall be forfeited to the United States and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Sec. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained and the cost of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Sec. 8. That the word "person" or "persons" wherever used in this act be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the territories, the law of any state or the laws of any foreign country.

- CHAP. It is the imprisonment penalty taken in connection
CIX. with the heavy money penalty, the infliction of both be-
1912. ing within the discretion of the court, that makes the
law a terror to offenders. Many men will run the risk
of a stiff financial fine if the profits be correspondingly
large, but few men like the idea of serving a term in
prison no matter how great the profits may be. And
when to these penalties is added the possibility of the
seizure and condemnation of goods in transit it is
enough to make the most reckless of men pause and go
slow.

CHAPTER CX.

CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION LAWS.

What Constitutes Citizenship.—Native Born.—Children Born of Foreign Parents.—Women as Citizens.—Right of Children to Elect as to Citizenship.—People Barred.—When Citizenship is Lost.—American Women Marrying Foreigners.—Naturalization of Foreigners Makes Citizens of the Children.—Method of Becoming Naturalized.—Requirements.—Obstacles to Naturalization.—Duty of the Courts.—Length of Residence.—Effect of Naturalization.

As a general proposition citizenship is acquired by birth CHAP.
or naturalization. Speaking broadly any person born CX.
within the jurisdiction of the United States, or under 1912.
the United States flag, whether on land or water, is a citizen ipso facto, and yet there are exceptions. The courts have held that certain races are debarred from the rights of citizenship, and can acquire these rights neither by birth or naturalization. These prescribed peoples are the Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, Burmese, and Indians. Originally an exception was made in the case of the children of Chinese parentage born in this country, but this was rescinded by the act of Congress, May 6, 1882. The law now provides as follows:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. (Fourteenth amendment to the constitution.)

All persons born in the United States and not sub-

CHAP. ject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed,
CX. are declared to be citizens of the United States. (Sec.
1912. 1992, U. S. Revised Statutes.)

All children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be, at the time of their birth, citizens thereof, are declared to be citizens of the United States; but the rights of citizenship shall not descend to children whose fathers never resided in the United States. (Sec. 1993, U. S. Revised Statutes.)

Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen. (Sec. 1995, U. S. Revised Statutes.)

Children born in the United States of alien parents are citizens of the United States.

When any alien who has formerly declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States dies before he is actually naturalized the widow and children of such alien are citizens.

Children of Chinese parents who are themselves aliens and incapable of becoming naturalized are citizens of the United States.

Children born in the United States of persons engaged in the diplomatic service of foreign governments are not citizens of the United States.

Children born of alien parents on a vessel of a foreign country while within the waters of the United States are not citizens of the United States, but of the country to which the vessel belongs.

Children born of alien parents in the United States have the right to make an election of nationality when they reach their majority.

Minors and children are citizens within the meaning of the term as used in the constitution.

Deserters from the military or naval service of the United States are liable to loss of citizenship.

Any alien being a free white person, an alien of African nativity or of African descent may become an American citizen by complying with the naturalization laws. CHAP.
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1912.

Hereafter no state court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are repealed. (Sec. 14, act of May 6, 1882.)

The naturalization laws apply to women as well as men. An alien woman who marries a citizen, native or naturalized, becomes a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Aliens may become citizens of the United States by treaties with foreign powers, by conquest or by special acts of congress.

In an act approved March 2, 1907, it is provided that any American citizen shall have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws, or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state.

When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign state from which he came, or five years in any other foreign state, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years; provided, however, that such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the department of state may prescribe; and, provided also, that no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war.

Any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband. At the termination of the marital relation she may resume her American citizenship, if abroad, by registering as an American citizen within one year with a consul of the United

CHAP. States, or by returning to reside in the United States,
CX. or, if residing in the United States at the termination
1912. of the marital relation, by continuing to reside therein.

Any foreign woman who acquires American citizenship by marriage to an American citizen shall be assumed to retain the same after the termination of the marital relation if she continue to reside in the United States, unless she makes formal renunciation thereof before a court having jurisdiction to naturalize aliens, or, if she resides abroad, she may retain her citizenship by registering as such before a United States consul within one year after the termination of such marital relation.

A child born without the United States, of alien parents, shall be deemed a citizen of the United States by virtue of the naturalization of or resumption of American citizenship of the parent; provided that such naturalization or resumption takes place during the minority of such child; and, provided further, that the citizenship of such minor child shall begin at the time such minor child begins to reside permanently in the United States.

All children born outside the limits of the United States, who are citizens thereof in accordance with the provisions of section 1993 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (see above), and who continue to reside outside of the United States, shall, in order to receive the protection of the government, be required, upon reaching the age of 18 years, to record at an American consulate their intention to become residents and remain citizens of the United States and shall further be required to take the oath of allegiance to the United States upon attaining their majority.

With the exception of the peoples named any alien may become a citizen of the United States by naturalization subject to the following conditions, as approved by the president June 29, 1906:

Exclusive jurisdiction to naturalize aliens resident in their districts is conferred upon the United States circuit and district courts and all courts of record having a seal, a clerk and jurisdiction in actions in law or equity or both in which the amount in controversy is unlimited.

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An alien may be admitted to citizenship in the following manner and not otherwise:

1. He shall declare on oath before the clerk of the proper court at least two years before his admission, and after he has reached the age of 18 years, that it is bona fide his intention to become a citizen of the United States and to renounce allegiance to any foreign state or sovereignty. Such declaration shall set forth the same facts as are registered at the time of his arrival.

2. Not less than two years nor more than seven after he has made such declaration he shall file a petition, signed by himself and verified, in which he shall state his name, place of residence, occupation, date and place of birth, place from which he emigrated, name of the vessel on which he arrived; the time when and the place and name of the court where he declared his intention of becoming a citizen; if he is married, he shall state the name of his wife, the country of her nativity and her place of residence at the time the petition is filed, and if he has children, the name, date and place of birth and place of residence of each child living. The petition shall also set forth that he is not a disbeliever in or opposed to organized government or a member of any body of persons opposed to organized government, and that he is not a polygamist or a believer in polygamy; that he intends to become a citizen of and to live permanently in the United States, and every other fact material to his naturalization and required to be proved upon the final hearing of his application. The petition shall be verified by the affidavits of at least two credible witnesses who are citizens. At the time of the filing of the petition there shall be also filed a certificate from

CHAP. the department of commerce and labor stating the date,
CX. place and manner of his arrival in the United States
1912. and the declaration of intention of such petitioner, which
certificate and declaration shall be attached to and be
a part of his petition.

3. He shall, before he is admitted to citizenship, declare on oath in open court that he will support the constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely renounces all allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty.

4. It shall be made apparent to the satisfaction of the court admitting any alien to citizenship that immediately preceding the date of his application he has resided continuously within the United States five years at least, and within the state or territory where such court is at the time held one year at least, and that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution. In addition to the oath of the applicant, the testimony of at least two witnesses, citizens of the United States, as to the facts of residence, moral character and attachment to the principles of the constitution shall be required.

5. He must renounce any hereditary title or order of nobility which he may possess.

6. When any alien, who has declared his intention, dies before he is actually naturalized the widow and minor children may, by complying with the other provisions of the act, be naturalized without making any declaration of intention.

Immediately after the filing of the petition the clerk of the court shall give notice thereof by posting in a public place the name, nativity and residence of the alien, the date and place of his arrival in the United States and the date for the final hearing of his petition and the names of the witnesses whom the applicant expects to summon in his behalf. Petitions for naturaliza-

tion may be filed at any time, but final action thereon shall be had only on stated days and in no case until at least ninety days have elapsed after the filing of the petition. No person shall be naturalized within thirty days preceding a general election within the territorial jurisdiction of the court.

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1912.

No person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching such disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers of the government of the United States, or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character or who is a polygamist, shall be naturalized.

No alien shall hereafter be naturalized or admitted as a citizen of the United States who cannot speak the English language. This requirement does not apply to those physically unable to comply with it; or to those making homestead entries upon the public lands of the United States.

Since the power to act exclusively in naturalization matters has been conferred on certain courts much greater care has been exercised as to the qualifications of the aliens thus turned into citizens than was the case when all the courts had jurisdiction. Under the old system the process of making citizens out of foreigners was frequently turned into a farce. People unable to read or write, ignorant of the principles of free government, and in many instances still loyal in spirit to the land of their birth, were massed by hundreds on the eve of an election and run through the mill of citizenship with little or no regard for legal requirements. It was simply a matter of political influence, and the politician who could round up the

CHAP. largest number of men willing to become citizens stood
CX. the best show of winning at the polls.

1912. While ostensibly in charge of the judges the details of naturalization were really disposed of by the clerks of the courts. This led to grave scandals, and congress, in 1906, was compelled to call a halt on existing practices by confining the power of naturalization exclusively to dignified courts.

CHAPTER CXI.

AREA AND GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

Wonderful Expansion of the Republic.—Present Extent of Area and Population.—Statistics of Size and Inhabitants by States and Territories.—How Expansion of Territory Was Secured.—Acquirement of Area by Cession and Purchase.—The Louisiana and Alaskan Purchases.—Population Per Square Mile.—Number of Inhabitants to the Acre.—Value of Farms and Farm Property.—Extent of Manufactures.—Capital Employed.—Value of Products.—Number of Employees.—Amount Paid in Wages.—Various Facts of Interest.

No country in the world has grown so fast in territory and population as the United States. The territory has mainly been acquired by peaceful means, generally purchase, and the increase in population by the fostering, beneficial policies of the government. In 1790 the republic had a gross area of 892,135 square miles, and a population of only 3,929,214. At the last census the area, exclusive of the Philippines, had grown to 3,611,337 square miles, or nearly four times that of 1790. If we include the Philippines the area is 4,441,073. The Philippines are 832,968 square miles in extent, or very nearly as large as the entire United States in the beginning. In 1910 the population of the United States proper had increased to 91,972,266. Including Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, which are all possessions of this country, the total was 93,346,543. The Philippines have 8,000,000 people, making the grand

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1913.

CHAP. total of 101,346,543. Acquisition of territory was ac-
 CXL. complished in the following manner:

1913.	Sq. Miles.
Area in 1790.....	892,135
Louisiana purchase, 1803.....	827,987
Florida, 1819	58,666
Treaty with Spain, 1819.....	13,435
Texas, 1845	389,166
Oregon, 1846	286,541
Mexican cession, 1848.....	529,189
Gadsden purchase, 1853.....	29,670
Alaska, purchase, 1867.....	577,390
Hawaii, annexed, 1898.....	6,499
Porto Rico, ceded, 1898.....	3,435
Guam, ceded, 1899.....	210
Samoa, annexed, 1900.....	77
Panama canal zone, purchase, 1904.....	436
Total	3,611,337

Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam and Samoa, were acquired as a direct result of the war with Spain, either by cession or by being taken possession of as a military necessity. The Philippines were also formally ceded to this country by Spain in 1898, but the United States has never assumed proprietorship, its position being that of a protectorate which is to continue until the people of the islands show ability to govern themselves. This stage, in the opinion of Presidents Taft and Wilson, has not yet been reached; but to all practical intent and purpose they are a part of this country. For a time after the war with Spain the United States was also in control in Cuba, but the people of that country are now managing their own affairs, a republican form of government having been organized in 1900.

The purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 by William H. Seward, then secretary of state, caused consid-

erable unfavorable comment at the time. It has since developed that it was a very profitable acquisition at the price of \$7,200,000 which this country paid. The value of the gold, salmon, and similar products, has been enormous and it is claimed that the resources of the land have hardly been touched. In one year the output of gold was \$20,000,000, and that of salmon \$30,000,000.

Texas is the largest state in the Union as regards geographical extent, having an area of 265,896 square miles. The original area of the territory was 389,166 square miles, but a considerable portion was set off into other principalities at the time of its admission to the Union in 1845. California is second with 158,297. New York has the largest population—9,113,613. The District of Columbia is the most densely populated, the number of residents being over 5,500 to the square mile. The standing of the various states in respect to population is as follows:—

Alabama	2,138,093
Arizona	204,354
Arkansas	1,574,449
California	2,377,549
Colorado	799,024
Connecticut	1,114,756
Delaware	202,322
Florida	752,619
Georgia	2,609,121
Idaho	325,594
Illinois	5,638,591
Indiana	2,700,876
Iowa	2,224,771
Kansas	1,690,949
Kentucky	2,289,905
Louisiana	1,656,388
Maine	742,371
Maryland	1,295,346

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CHAP.	Massachusetts	3,366,416
CXI.	Michigan	2,810,173
1913.	Minnesota	2,075,708
	Mississippi	1,797,114
	Missouri	3,293,335
	Montana	376,053
	Nebraska	1,192,214
	Nevada	81,875
	New Hampshire	430,572
	New Jersey	2,537,167
	New Mexico	327,301
	New York	9,113,614
	North Carolina	2,206,287
	North Dakota	577,056
	Ohio	4,767,121
	Oklahoma	1,657,155
	Oregon	672,765
	Pennsylvania	7,665,111
	Rhode Island	542,610
	South Carolina	1,515,400
	South Dakota	583,888
	Tennessee	2,184,789
	Texas	3,896,542
	Utah	373,351
	Vermont	355,956
	Virginia	2,061,612
	Washington	1,141,990
	West Virginia	1,221,119
	Wisconsin	2,333,860
	Wyoming	145,965

As regards size of area the states rank as follows:—

State.	Rank.	Sq. Miles.
Texas	1	265,896
California	2	158,297
Montana	3	146,997

New Mexico	4	122,634	CHAP.
Arizona	5	113,956	CXI.
Nevada	6	110,690	1913.
Colorado	7	103,948	
Wyoming	8	97,914	
Oregon	9	96,699	
Utah	10	84,990	
Minnesota	11	84,682	
Idaho	12	83,888	
Kansas	13	82,158	
South Dakota	14	77,615	
Nebraska	15	77,520	
North Dakota	16	70,837	
Oklahoma	17	70,057	
Missouri	18	69,420	
Washington	19	69,127	
Georgia	20	59,265	
Florida	21	58,666	
Michigan	22	57,980	
Illinois	23	56,665	
Iowa	24	56,147	
Wisconsin	25	56,066	
Arkansas	26	53,335	
North Carolina	27	52,426	
Alabama	28	51,998	
New York	29	49,204	
Louisiana	30	48,506	
Mississippi	31	46,865	
Pennsylvania	32	45,126	
Virginia	33	42,627	
Tennessee	34	42,022	
Ohio	35	41,040	
Kentucky	36	40,598	
Indiana	37	36,354	
Maine	38	33,040	
South Carolina	39	30,989	
West Virginia	40	24,170	

CHAP.	Maryland	41	12,327
CXI.	Vermont	42	9,564
1913.	New Hampshire	43	9,341
	Massachusetts	44	8,266
	New Jersey	45	8,224
	Connecticut	46	4,965
	Delaware	47	2,370
	Rhode Island	48	1,248
	District of Columbia	49	70

Density of population is shown in the following tables giving the number of inhabitants per square mile, and the number of acres per inhabitant. In the latter table the computation is made by geographical divisions.

PER SQUARE MILE.

State.	1910	1880.
Alabama	41.7	24.6
Arizona	1.8	0.4
Arkansas	30.0	15.3
California	15.3	5.5
Colorado	7.7	1.9
Connecticut	231.3	129.2
Delaware	103.0	74.6
District of Columbia.....	5517.8	3062.5
Florida	13.7	4.9
Georgia	44.4	26.3
Idaho	3.9	0.4
Illinois	100.6	55.0
Indiana	74.9	55.1
Iowa	40.0	29.2
Kansas	20.7	12.2
Kentucky	57.0	41.0
Louisiana	36.5	20.7
Maine	24.8	21.7
Maryland	130.0	94.0
Massachusetts	418.8	221.8

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

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Michigan	48.9	28.5	CHAP.
Minnesota	25.7	9.7	CXI.
Mississippi	38.8	24.4	1913.
Missouri	47.9	31.6	
Montana	2.6	0.3	
Nebraska	15.5	5.9	
Nevada	0.7	0.6	
New Hampshire	47.7	38.4	
New Jersey	337.7	150.5	
New Mexico	2.7	1.0	
New York	191.2	106.7	
North Carolina	45.3	28.7	
North Dakota	8.2	—	
Ohio	117.0	78.5	
Oklahoma	23.9	—	
Oregon	7.0	1.8	
Pennsylvania	171.0	95.5	
Rhode Island	508.5	259.2	
South Carolina	49.7	32.6	
South Dakota	7.6	—	
Tennessee	52.4	37.0	
Texas	14.8	6.1	
Utah	4.5	1.8	
Vermont	39.0	36.4	
Virginia	51.2	37.6	
Washington	17.1	1.1	
West Virginia	50.8	25.7	
Wisconsin	42.2	23.8	
Wyoming	1.5	0.2	
<hr/>		<hr/>	
United States	30.9	16.9	

ACRES PER INHABITANT.

New England	6.1
Maine	25.8
New Hampshire	13.4
Vermont	16.4

CHAP.	Massachusetts	1.5
<u>CXI.</u>	Rhode Island	1.3
1913.	Connecticut	2.8
	Middle Atlantic	3.3
	New York	3.3
	New Jersey	1.9
	Pennsylvania	3.7
	East North Central	8.6
	Ohio	5.5
	Indiana	8.5
	Illinois	6.4
	Michigan	13.1
	Wisconsin	15.2
	West North Central	28.1
	Minnesota	24.9
	Iowa	16.0
	Missouri	13.4
	North Dakota	77.8
	South Dakota	84.3
	Nebraska	41.2
	Kansas	31.0
	Delaware	6.2
	Maryland	4.9
	District of Columbia	0.1
	Virginia	12.5
	West Virginia	12.6
	South Atlantic	14.1
	North Carolina	14.1
	South Carolina	12.9
	Georgia	14.4
	Florida	46.7

East South Central	13.7	CHAP.
Kentucky	11.2	CXI.
Tennessee	12.2	1913.
Alabama	15.3	
Mississippi	16.5	

West South Central	31.3
Arkansas	21.4
Louisiana	17.5
Oklahoma	26.8
Texas	43.1

Mountain	208.8
Montana	248.8
Idaho	163.8
Wyoming	427.9
Colorado	84.0
New Mexico	239.5
Arizona	356.4
Utah	140.9
Nevada	858.4
Washington	37.5
Oregon	91.0
California	41.9

Despite the cry that people are deserting the farms and flocking to the cities there was a wonderful increase in the farm population in the ten years from 1900 to 1910. The amount of improved lands occupied as farms shows a perceptible gain, the value of farm property doubled, and there was a very decided increase in the value of the land. These facts, as obtained from the United States census report, are:—

CHAP.
CXI.

1913.

	1910	1900	Increase	
			Amount	Pr. ct.
Rural population	49,348,883	44,384,030	4,963,953	11.2
Number of all farms	6,361,502	5,737,372	624,130	10.9
Land in farms, acres	878,798,825	838,591,774	40,206,551	4.8
Improved land in farms, acres ..	478,451,750	414,408,487	63,953,263	15.4
Average acreage per farm	138.1	146.2	-8.1	-5.5
Average improved acreage per farm	75.2	72.2	3.0	4.2
Per cent of total land area in farms	46.2	44.1	.....	.....
Per cent of land in farms improved	54.4	49.4	.....	.....
Per cent of total land area improved	25.1	21.8	.....	.....
Value of farm property, total	\$40,991,449,090	\$20,439,901,364	\$20,551,547,926	100.5
Land	28,475,674,169	13,058,007,995	15,417,666,174	118.1
Buildings	6,325,451,728	3,556,639,496	2,768,812,232	77.8
Implements and machinery	1,265,149,783	749,775,970	515,373,813	68.7
Domestic animals, poultry and bees	4,925,173,610	3,075,477,703	1,849,695,907	60.1
Average value of all property per farm	6,444	3,563	2,881	80.9
Average value of all property per acre of land in farms	46.64	24.37	22.27	91.4
Average value of land per acre ..	32.40	15.57	16.83	108.1

The average number of acres per farm, and the average value of equipment and land, is reported as follows:

State.	Acres.	Equip-ment.	Land.	Per acre.
Alabama	78.9	\$ 1,408	\$ 825	\$ 10.46
Arizona	135.1	8,142	4,590	33.97
Arkansas	81.1	1,864	1,146	14.13
California	316.7	18,303	14,395	47.16
Colorado	293.1	10,645	7,858	26.81
Connecticut	81.5	5,944	2,693	33.03
Delaware	95.9	5,830	3,221	33.63
District Columbia	27.9	39,062	33,152	1,186.50
Florida	105.0	2,863	1,874	17.84
Georgia	92.6	1,995	1,273	13.74
Idaho	171.5	9,911	7,140	41.63
Illinois	120.1	15,505	12,270	95.02
Indiana	98.8	8,396	6,164	62.36
Iowa	156.3	17,259	12,910	82.58
Kansas	244.0	11,467	8,648	35.45
Kentucky	85.6	2,986	1,869	21.83
Louisiana	86.6	2,499	1,558	17.99
Maine	104.9	3,320	1,441	13.73
Maryland	103.4	5,849	3,341	32.32
Massachusetts ..	77.9	6,135	2,859	36.69
Michigan	91.5	5,261	2,973	32.48

Minnesota	177.3	9,456	6,527	36.82	CHAP. CXI.
Mississippi	67.6	1,554	926	13.69	
Missouri	124.8	7,405	5,216	41.80	1913.
Montana	516.7	13,269	8,651	16.74	
Nebraska	297.8	16,038	12,450	41.80	
Nevada	1,009.6	22,462	13,119	12.99	
New Hampshire.	120.1	3,833	1,646	13.70	
New Jersey	76.9	7,600	3,707	48.23	
New Mexico.....	315.9	4,469	2,770	8.77	
New York	102.2	6,732	3,283	32.13	
North Carolina..	88.4	2,119	1,352	15.29	
North Dakota...	382.3	13,109	9,822	25.05	
Ohio	88.6	6,994	4,727	54.34	
Oklahoma	151.7	4,828	3,413	22.49	
Oregon	256.8	11,609	9,048	35.23	
Pennsylvania ...	84.8	5,715	2,875	33.92	
Rhode Island....	83.8	6,234	2,836	33.86	
South Carolina..	76.6	2,223	1,523	19.89	
South Dakota...	335.1	15,018	11,625	34.69	
Tennessee	81.5	2,490	1,510	18.53	
Texas	269.1	5,311	3,909	14.53	
Utah	156.7	6,957	4,590	29.28	
Vermont	142.6	4,445	1,785	12.52	
Virginia	105.9	3,397	2,145	20.24	
Washington	208.4	11,346	9,208	44.18	
West Virginia...	103.7	3,255	2,142	20.65	
Wisconsin	118.9	7,978	5,148	43.30	
Wyoming	777.6	15,217	8,092	10.41	

The United States holds first rank as a producer of corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, rice and hops. Of the world's crop of over 3,500,000,000 bushels of corn the yield of this country was 2,700,000,000 bushels, or about 74.8 per cent. Of wheat the total product of the world in 1912 was, in round figures, 3,400,000,000 bushels, this country growing and marketing at home and abroad, 700,000,000 bushels, or 19.8 per cent of the whole. The

CHAP. total yield of oats was 4,000,000,000 bushels, the United
 CXI. States producing nearly 1,000,000,000 bushels, or over
 1913. 24 per cent. Of potatoes we grew 59 per cent of the
 world's crop of 20,000,000 bushels. In rice and tobacco
 we were also leaders. The world's rice crop, according
 to the last available statistics, was 2,500,000,000 pounds,
 this country producing nearly 8,000,000 pounds, equiv-
 alent to 31 per cent. Of tobacco the yield was 185,000,-
 000 pounds. Our proportion was 48,000,000 pounds,
 about 25 per cent. In barley and flaxseed we were a
 close second.

Gratifying as are the farm statistics, tending to show
 that there is no real excuse for the hue and cry that
 "farming does not pay," official reports from the manu-
 facturing interests are still better. In the ten years
 from 1900 to 1910 the gain in all branches was phe-
 nomenally large. The number of establishments, wages
 earned, and value of products all show a tremendous
 increase. Whatever we may think of a protective tariff
 it must be admitted that our manufacturing industries
 have shown a wonderful improvement. Advocates of
 the tariff, of course, will claim that this is a direct re-
 sult of the protection thus afforded. Those opposed to
 the principle of protection will just as stoutly maintain
 that it is simply a natural growth, due to the enlarged
 demands of our constantly growing population and the
 general excellence of the products. There is undoubt-
 edly some truth in both views.

According to value of products the various industries
 ranked as follows, every industry showing a perceptible
 increase in volume of value, the greatest being in the
 manufacture of automobiles:

Industry.	Rank.	Product.	Per cent increase.
Slaughtering, packing	1	\$1,370,568,000	48.6
Foundries, machine shops....	2	1,228,475,000	39.5
Lumber and timber	3	1,156,129,000	30.7

Iron and steel	4	985,723,000	46.3	CHAP.
Flour and grist mills.....	5	883,584,000	23.9	CXI.
Printing and publishing	6	737,876,000	33.6	1913.
Cotton goods	7	628,392,000	39.5	
Clothing, men's	8	568,077,000	39.7	
Boots and shoes	9	512,798,000	43.4	
Wool, worsteds, felt	10	435,979,000	36.5	
Tobacco manufactures	11	416,695,000	25.8	
Cars, etc., by steam roads...	12	405,601,000	30.9	
Bread, bakery goods	13	396,865,000	47.2	
Blast furnaces	14	391,429,000	68.8	
Clothing, women's	15	384,752,000	55.4	
Copper, smelting, refining....	16	378,806,000	57.3	
Malt liquors	17	374,730,000	25.6	
Leather, tanning, etc.	18	327,874,000	29.8	
Cane sugar and molasses.....	19	279,249,000	0.7	
Butter, cheese, condensed milk	20	274,558,000	63.2	
Paper and wood pulp.....	21	267,657,000	41.8	
Automobiles	22	249,202,000	729.7	
Furniture and refrigerators..	23	239,887,000	34.9	
Petroleum, refining	24	236,998,000	35.4	
Electrical machinery	25	221,309,000	57.2	
Liquors, distilled	26	204,699,000	55.9	
Hosiery and knit goods.....	27	200,144,000	46.0	
Copper, tin, sheet iron.....	28	199,824,000	66.6	
Silk, silk goods	29	196,912,000	47.7	
Lead, smelting, refining.....	30	167,406,000	9.9	
Gas, illuminating, heating....	31	166,814,000	33.3	
Carriages, wagons	32	159,893,000	2.6	
Canning, preserving	33	157,101,000	20.4	
Brass, bronze products	34	149,989,000	46.5	
Oil, cotton seed, cake.....	35	147,868,000	53.4	
Agricultural implements	36	146,329,000	30.6	
Medicines, drugs, etc.....	37	141,942,000	20.9	
Confectionery	38	134,796,000	54.8	
Paint and varnish	39	124,889,000	37.5	
Cars for steam roads.....	40	123,730,000	11.3	

CHAP.	Chemicals	41	117,689,000	56.5
CXI.	Marble and stone work.....	42	113,093,000	33.3
1913.	Leather goods	43	104,719,000	27.5

The average increase was over 39 per cent, taking into consideration all branches of production classed as manufactures. In the minor industries not here enumerated, the increase was over 41 per cent.

As regards the number of employees the lumber and timber industry ranks first. The manufactured product was worth \$1,156,129,000, in the preparation of which 695,019 wage workers were kept busy. The total number employed in all lines of manufacture is 6,615,046 exclusive of clerks, superintendents, managers, etc.

Following is a table (taken from the census report) giving the essential facts of increase:

	1910.	1900.
Establishments	263,491	207,562
Capital	\$18,428,170,000	\$8,978,825,200
Salaried persons.....	790,267	364,202
Salaries	\$938,575,000	\$380,889,091
Wage earners.....	6,615,046	4,715,023
Wages	\$3,427,038,000	\$2,009,735,799
General expenses.....	\$18,453,080,000	\$905,600,225
Cost of materials.....	\$12,141,791,000	\$6,577,614,074
Value of products.....	\$20,672,052,000	\$11,411,121,122

During the ten years between 1900 and 1910 there was an increase of 29.4 per cent in the number of manufacturing establishments; an increase of 105.3 per cent in capital; 40.4 per cent in number of wage earners; 70.6 per cent in wages; and 81.2 in value of products. Increase in the value added to the manufacturing industry amounted to 76.6 per cent. Of the total value of \$20,672,052,000 of products merchandise to the amount of \$1,744,984,720 was exported, leaving goods to the amount of \$18,927,067,280 to be consumed at home.

CHAPTER CXII.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Adoption of Women Suffrage in Illinois.—Campaign Conducted in Orderly Manner.—Officers for Whom Women May Vote.—Control of Taxing, License and Money Expending Officials.—Ten States Now Recognize the Equality of Women as Voters.—Seventeen Others Give Them Suffrage in a Restricted Way.—Processions in Honor of the Victory Held in Chicago and Other Cities.—Women Appointed as Police Officers.

ILLINOIS was the last of the states to date to give women the right to vote. The legislature toward the end of its session in 1913 (June 11) adopted an act to this effect, and it was approved by Gov. Dunne. Previous to this women could vote only for school officers. Now they can cast a ballot, for all candidates except those the election of whom is otherwise provided for. According to the text of the bill women in Illinois may now vote for the following:

CHAP.
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Presidential electors, member of the state board of equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, members of board of assessors, members of board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrate), and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political divisions of the state.

All women qualified as voters may also vote for the following township officers: Supervisors, town clerk, as-

CHAP. sessors, collector, and highway commissioner and may
CXII. also participate and vote in all annual and special town
1913. meetings in the town in which such election district
shall be.

Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided for women, which ballots shall contain the names of the candidates for such offices which are to be voted for and the special questions submitted as aforesaid, and the ballots cast by women shall be canvassed with the other ballots cast for such officers and on such questions. At any such election where registration is required women shall register in the same manner as male voters.

This was the result of a long, energetic campaign by the women. Unlike their English sisters they did not resort to militant methods. Everything was conducted in an orderly manner. The women conducted their campaign on the line of moral suasion. They did not gain all they expected, as there are some offices election to which is expressly provided for by the constitution. These include:

United States senate. Members of congress. Members of legislature. Governor. Lieutenant governor. Secretary of state. State auditor of public accounts. State treasurer. Supt. of public instruction. Attorney general. Judges of supreme, appellate, circuit, superior, probate and criminal courts and clerks of these courts. Justices of the peace and police magistrates. Constables. State's attorney. County commissioners. County judge. County clerk. Sheriff. County treasurer. Coroner. Recorder of deeds.

The women feel, however, that they have won an important victory. They have the right to vote for the taxing officials and for the city, town, and village officers. This is all they asked. For years women have maintained that it was unjust to tax their property without giving them an opportunity to express a preference in the selection of the taxing officers. They now also may

vote for aldermen and village trustees who control the issuance of licenses, and the expenditure of public moneys raised by taxation. It is reasonable to suppose that there will be a reform in this direction as a better class of men will undoubtedly be elected to office.

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1913.

Ten states are now on record as giving women a practically unrestricted right to vote. These are:

Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Restricted woman suffrage also obtains in Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Wisconsin. All this has been won by peaceful methods, wherein lies a forceful lesson for the English suffragettes who are trying to win by force.

Following the adoption of the bill the suffragettes held a large procession in Chicago and other cities. The men also began to recognize them as a power to be reckoned with. Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, appointed ten women members of the police force.

Gov. Dunne is said to have been largely influenced in the signing of the act by his wife who is an ardent suffragette.

CHAPTER CXIII.

MORE TROUBLE IN MEXICO.

Shooting of Inspector Dixon.—Attitude of the Mexican Authorities.—Demands Made by This Government.—Part Taken by Ambassador Wilson.—Uprising in Venezuela.—Return of Castro.—Its Significance.—Forced Resignation of Ambassador Wilson.—Ordered to Remain in This Country.—Appointment of Mr. Lind as Agent of President Wilson.—His Mission to Mexico.—Statement by Secretary Bryan.—Policy of President Wilson.—How Lind Made the Trip to Mexico.

CHAP. FRESH impetus was added to the trouble with Mexico
CXIII. by the shooting on July 26, 1913, of Charles B. Dixon,
1913. United States immigration inspector, at Juarez. Dixon, who had gone to the Mexican city from San Diego, Calif., on official business to investigate a white slavery case, was arrested by a Mexican soldier and a negro named Arthur Walker, the latter being implicated in the charges which Dixon was investigating. Dixon, who was seriously wounded, made the following statement:

“I told the soldiers I would go with them to the commandant’s office, but instead of taking me in that direction they started with me in the direction of the outskirts of the town. As I had on a suit of khaki, I thought that perhaps they had taken me for a United States soldier acting as a spy. I ran and they shot me after I got about half a block away from them.”

The wounded man was taken to a military hospital in Juarez and was denied the privilege of informing his

government of what had occurred, the Mexicans claiming that he was merely a victim of "ley de fuego," the native fugitive law, under which all prisoners attempting to escape may be shot. It happens that Reginald H. Del Valle was in Mexico at the time as an agent of the United States government. He heard of the shooting of Dixon and at once communicated the facts to Washington. Under instructions from the secretary of state Thomas D. Edwards, United States consul at Juarez; F. W. Berkshire and Clarence G. Gately, immigration inspectors, and Dr. J. H. Tappan, American surgeon, endeavored to secure the removal of Dixon to a hospital at El Paso, but were unsuccessful. Nobody, except Dr. Tappan, was allowed to see him. Berkshire and Gately were arrested and detained at the military barracks, but later released.

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Ambassador Wilson and Agent Del Valle at once started on a race for Washington. Wilson was anxious to present the act of the Mexicans in the most favorable light, and Del Valle to state the facts without political bias. Del Valle got there first, and laid his statement before Secretary of State Bryan. The latter, on hearing it, said:

"It looks like a serious case. We will do whatever is necessary."

This took form the following day in a peremptory demand by Mr. Bryan for:

The immediate arrest and imprisonment of all concerned in the shooting of Mr. Dixon.

The immediate trial of the offenders, such trial to begin at once if possible.

Action which will prevent the spiriting away of witnesses to the shooting, who are known to Consul Edwards.

Permission for the transfer of Mr. Dixon to a hospital in El Paso.

The state department also demanded the immediate

CHAP. release of Charles Bissell and Bernard McDonald, min-
CXIII. ing managers, imprisoned by federal soldiers at Chihua-
1913. hua, and said to be threatened with execution.

To this the Mexican government complied by arresting the men who shot Dixon and by consenting to the removal of the wounded man to El Paso. Beyond this it would not go. Whatever was lacking to convince President Wilson that the time for intervention in Mexico had arrived the shooting of Dixon supplied. Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, who is said to be a warm friend of President Huerta, urged provisional recognition of the Huerta government on the following basis:

Assent by President Huerta to the discharge of various obligations, including the payment of indemnity for the assassination of American citizens and the destruction of American property.

Declaration by Huerta that he will call a constitutional election and maintain control of the territory up to the twenty-sixth parallel by the time the election takes place.

This did not meet with the approval of President Wilson who said emphatically that he would never recognize a government founded on murder, but was willing to act as a mediator. To this both President Huerta and General Carranza, leader of the revolutionists, dissented. It now seems that the only course left open to this country is an absolute backdown and surrender of all its contentions, or armed intervention. This latter is the most probable, unless Huerta recedes from his present attitude. Several powerful foreign nations, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain and Belgium, have united in protest against the course of this country, intimating broadly that unless the United States at once took energetic measures to suppress the murderous disorder they would be compelled to interfere.

Ambassador Wilson made an impassioned speech to

the senate committee on foreign relations, defending Huerta and urging his recognition. It made a deep impression but the committee decided that settlement of the matter should be left in the hands of President Wilson. The latter is hopeful that armed intervention will not be necessary, that the Mexicans will get together and settle their troubles amicably, but of this there does not seem to be much hope. Gen. Carranza, head of the revolutionists, says:

“We will continue the war until Huerta and his partisans are exterminated.”

Following closely upon the Mexican revolution came an uprising in Venezuela, headed by Cipriano Castro, the former president. Castro had been in exile five years, but quietly returned with funds and backing sufficient to start a serious rebellion. Castro was deposed at the united request of the United States, Great Britain, German and France, and his return is a defiance to all these nations. The success of Castro would bring about a very serious condition of affairs in Central America, especially at this time when we are on the eve of opening the Panama canal. It is not difficult to believe that some foreign power, hostile to the exclusive control of the canal by this country is backing Castro. Revolutions spread fast in Latin-American countries, and it would not take much to produce a condition of affairs that might be seized upon as a pretext for interference.

The proposed establishment of a protectorate over Nicaragua is a notice to the world that this government is tired of revolutions in Central America and plans to assume the responsibility of maintaining order. It will be but a step for the United States to declare that it regards it as its duty to act as policeman of all the countries bordering upon the Caribbean.

The fall of the Gomez government in Venezuela would be regretted here. Compared with the spoliation of the

CHAP. country under Castro, Gomez has administered the affairs
CXIII. of his country exceedingly well. He has given protection
1913. to American and foreign interests and has spared no effort to manifest cordiality toward them.

Castro's success in reentering Venezuela assures him added prestige in his own country. Since he left Venezuela the great powers of the world have been assiduously keeping track of his movements and taking measures to prevent his return home. A few weeks ago, in spite of the surveillance maintained, Castro disappeared from Teneriffe, Canary islands. That Castro will regain power is looked upon as a probability. If he does, the different nations will have to look out as he will undoubtedly seek to make it uncomfortable for the powers which were instrumental in ousting him five years ago. In the meantime the European nations interested are looking upon the United States to preserve the peace.

Evidence of a decided incompatibility of views regarding the Mexican situation as held by Ambassador Wilson and President Wilson was given August 4th, 1913, when the former resigned his office by request, and John Lind, a former governor of Minnesota, was named to act. Mr. Lind was not appointed ambassador to Mexico, but as the personal representative of President Wilson as adviser to the American embassy in the negotiations for peace. At the same time, Mr. Lind having departed at once on his errand, former Ambassador Wilson was officially requested to remain away from Mexico. This was made necessary by the part Mr. Wilson had taken in the interest of Huerta and the fear that his presence there at the same time as Mr. Lind might tend to embarrass the latter. In explaining this, Secretary of State Bryan said:

"It is very likely that Huerta and his supporters appreciate the efforts made by Mr. Wilson to secure recognition of the Huerta government by the United States, and his return to Mexico would undoubtedly be

made the occasion of a demonstration, which would be untimely and out of place. This will be avoided by having him remain in this country so long as he is still connected with the diplomatic service.”

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As Mr. Wilson's resignation does not take effect until October 14, 1913, he remains until that time, nominally at least, the representative of this country. As an agent of the Department of State the United States authorities have control of his movements. In announcing the resignation Mr. Bryan did so in the following language.

“Ambassador Wilson's resignation has been accepted to take effect Oct. 14. The part which he felt it his duty to take in the earlier stages of the revolution in Mexico would make it difficult for him to represent the views of the present administration, in view of the situation which now exists.

“Ex-Governor John Lind of Minnesota has been sent to Mexico as the personal representative of the president to act as adviser to the embassy in the present situation. When the president is ready to communicate with the Mexican authorities as to the restoration of peace, he will make public his views.”

Briefly stated, the views of President Wilson may be given as follows:

Refusal to recognize the Huerta government.

Rejection of the plan of military intervention.

Postponement of the adoption of the suggestion to place the revolutionists and the Huerta government upon the same footing with respect to getting munitions of war from the United States.

Use of the good offices of the United States through Mr. Lind to secure Huerta's retirement and have him agree to a general election.

Acquiescence by Gen. Carranza, Gen. Pesquiera, and others in the program of an impartial election.

Agreement by all factions to abide by the result of the election.

CHAP. Mr. Bryan's statement concerning the ambassador's
CXIII. retirement shows the administration does not propose to

1913. approve what the ambassador did in connection with the accession of Huerta. The statement significantly refers to the part the ambassador "felt it his duty to take" in the earlier stages of the latest Mexican revolution and says this would "make it difficult" for him to represent the views of the present administration.

An inkling of what was coming was given on the afternoon of August 4th when Ambassador Wilson called at the White House and got word that the president was too busy to see him. This was taken as an indication that he was *persona non grata*. Later he called on Secretary Bryan and the latter at once asked for his resignation.

In proceeding to Mexico, Mr. Lind went to Galveston, Texas, by rail, and from this latter city sailed for Vera Cruz, Mexico, on the United States battleship New Hampshire, the idea being to impress the Mexicans with the importance of his mission. In the selection of Mr. Lind and the arrangement of the details governing his conduct, President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan have shown clever diplomacy. Mr. Lind is not a representative of this government. He is merely the personal agent of the president. Hence he will not have to present any formal credentials to Huerta and the embarrassing matter of recognizing the Huerta régime will thus be avoided. As a private citizen he can talk with all the factions in Mexico without giving grounds for official objection. At the same time the placing of a war vessel at his disposal for the journey and the attentions and courtesies which the members of the American embassy have been instructed to show him will convince the Mexicans that Mr. Lind "speaks by the card."

One objection has been made to the selection of Mr. Lind. He does not speak Spanish, the language of Mexico, or even diplomatic French; he is a Northern

man out of touch with Latin-American people, and that, consequently, it will be difficult, if not impossible for him to arrive at the same clear understanding of the situation that would be commanded by a man speaking the language of the country and acquainted with the political objects and aims of the Mexicans.

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CHAPTER CXIV.

NEW FINANCIAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

Government to Advance Money for Crop-Moving Purposes.—Secretary McAdoo's Plan.—Commotion Among Eastern Bankers.—Reasons For Its Adoption.—Death Blow to Money Monopoly.—How It Was Maintained.—Terms of Loans Under New Plan.—Commercial Paper Accepted.—Cities Where Deposits Will be Made.—Rate of Interest.—Return of Government Funds.—Control of the Loans.—Management by Federal Board.—Bankers to Act as Advisors.

CHAP. AT the close of July (the 31st.), 1913, the country was
CXIV. startled by announcement from Secretary of the Treas-
1913. ury McAdoo to the effect that the government was pre-
paring to loan money for crop-moving purposes through
the small banks in the sections of the country where it
was most needed. This was such a radical change from
the prevailing practice that it caused a commotion in
banking circles in the East, which had become ac-
customed to having a monopoly in the handling of
government funds.

For years it has been the practice of the government
to deposit from time to time large sums in the Eastern
banks, principally those of New York city. These
funds the banks handled as they pleased on their own
terms. They could make, or decline to make, loans, and
demand any rate of interest they saw fit. Money needed
for crop-moving could only be obtained by a roundabout
course, the dealers in Minnesota, for instance, obtaining

it from their local banks after these had borrowed from Chicago, the latter from New York, and so on. It was within the powers of the Eastern bankers to make money "tight" or "easy" as they desired, and in this way to influence the price of commodities. CHAP.
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Now all this to be changed. Hitherto the Federal government has not recognized commercial paper, or state or municipal bonds as security for loans. Nothing but government bonds were acceptable and these in such quantities that only the strongest banks could handle them. Secretary McAdoo's plan is to deposit from \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000 in Southern and Western banks in such quantities as may be necessary for legitimate purposes, charge $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, and accept commercial paper, state and municipal bonds as security, as well as government bonds.

Government bonds will be accepted at par, other bonds at 75 per cent, and commercial paper at 65 per cent of the face value. The commercial paper must be approved by the clearing house of the city from which it comes. Secretary McAdoo's action in this connection is in line with the administration's banking and currency policy, which recognizes approved commercial paper as valid security for any financial transaction by the government. Making the clearing house in the city of issuance the judge of the worth of the paper is considered as giving indubitable proof of its legitimacy and worth.

Eastern bankers professed to be greatly surprised and annoyed by Secretary McAdoo's policy in this respect. Many of them said emphatically that Mr. McAdoo had no authority in law to accept commercial paper as security for such deposits and when told that he was relying evidently on section 5153 of the revised statutes they said emphatically that if the wording of that law permitted the secretary to act as he is doing then an unusual precedent was established. While the bankers were not inclined to discuss the possible results of such a pre-

CHAP. cedent, they said they saw no necessity for it at this
CXIV. time.

1913. Some sixty cities have been selected as the places at which deposits of government funds on the terms named will be made. Representative bankers from these cities have been invited to confer with the Treasury Department concerning the distribution of the \$50,000,000 which it is proposed to deposit. Secretary McAdoo wants expert advice as to the needs, specific and relative, of the farming districts directly interested, especially as to the amount of money actually needed for the moving of crops. The cities where deposits will be made are:

Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Ala.

Little Rock, Ark.

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cal.

Denver, Colo.

Tampa, Jacksonville, Fla.

Atlanta, Savannah, Ga.

Chicago, Ill.

Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Ind.

Des Moines, Sioux City, Iowa.

Kansas City, Wichita, Kas.

Louisville, Ky.

New Orleans, La.

Baltimore, Md.

Vicksburg, Meriden, Miss.

St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo.

Minneapolis, St. Paul, Minn.

Detroit, Mich.

Charlotte, Wilmington, Raleigh, N. C.

Omaha, Neb.

Oklahoma City, Muskogee, Okla.

Portland, Ore.

Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Ohio.

Charleston, Columbia, Spartanburg, Greenville, S. C.

Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville, Tenn.

Dallas, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, Texas.

Richmond, Norfolk, Roanoke, Lynchburg, Va.
Wheeling, W. Va.
Seattle, Spokane, Wash.
Milwaukee, Wis.

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The entire \$50,000,000 is to be deposited at once if the demand warrants it. If not it will be doled out in such quantities and at such times as the bankers interested think will be to the best interests of the sections affected. In deciding upon this care will be exercised to prevent any undue inflation of currency, as it is considered that a surplus of money would tend to unduly cheapen prices and thus work injury to the very people it is desired to assist. Terms are also to be arranged for the return to the United States treasury without delay of sums the need for which has passed.

As finally agreed upon the administration's banking and currency bill, upon which Secretary McAdoo's action is based, provides for a Federal reserve board under government control, which will direct the banking and currency system, assisted by an advisory board of bankers.

This is the first time this government has ever attempted the discounting of commercial paper and the experiment, for such it is, will be watched with interest. Advocates of the measure argue that the best and soundest banks in the country are doing this profitably right along, and the only difference is that the government will be doing it on a larger scale. Making the clearing houses in the various cities approve of the paper before it is discounted will add a feature of security the banks do not ordinarily possess.

In the banking and currency bill which he favors President Wilson has announced that it is his main purpose to secure a reform in our banking methods to the extent of making sure that the reserve funds of the government are used to aid legitimate business, and not to assist speculators. This latter, it is claimed, is

CHAP. now the main result of the existing system of depositing
CXIV. government money in large quantities in a few favored
1913. banks, leaving these banks free to handle the funds as
they please. President Wilson would inaugurate a sys-
tem which would recognize commercial paper, in ad-
dition to bonds and similar securities as a legitimate
basis for loans, put the management of the loans in the
hands of a Federal board, and arrange for an elastic cur-
rency, to be expanded or contracted as occasion requires.
This is somewhat similar to the plan proposed by former
President Taft.

President Wilson, on June 23, 1913, personally ap-
peared before congress in behalf of the immediate adop-
tion of the measure, on which occasion he said:

"It is under the compulsion of what seems to me a
clear and imperative duty that I have a second time this
session sought the privilege of addressing you in person.

"I know, of course, that the heated season of the year
is upon us, that work in these chambers and in the com-
mittee rooms is likely to become a burden as the season
lengthens, and that every consideration of personal con-
venience and personal comfort, perhaps in the cases of
some of us, considerations of personal health even, dic-
tate an early conclusion of the deliberations of the ses-
sion; but there are occasions of public duty when these
things which touch us privately seem very small; when
the work to be done is so pressing and so fraught with
big consequences that we know we are not at liberty
to weight against it any point of personal sacrifice.

"We are now in the presence of such an occasion. It
is absolutely imperative that we should give the business
men of this country a banking and currency system by
means of which they can make use of the freedom of en-
terprise and of individual initiative which we are about
to bestow upon them.

"We are about to set them free; we must not leave
them without the tools of action when they are free. We

are about to set them free by removing the trammels of the protective tariff. CHAP.
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“Ever since the civil war they have waited for this emancipation and for the free opportunities it will bring with it. It has been reserved for us to give it to them. Some fell in love, indeed, with the slothful security of their dependence upon the government; some took advantage of the shelter of the nursery to set up a mimic mastery of their own within its walls. 1913.

“Now both the tonic and the discipline of liberty and maturity are to ensue. There will be some readjustments of purpose and point of view. There will follow a period of expansion and new enterprise freshly conceived. It is for us to determine now whether it shall be rapid and facile and of easy accomplishment. This it can not be unless the resourceful business men who are to deal with the new circumstances are to have at hand and ready for use the instrumentalities and conveniences of free enterprise which independent men need when acting on their own initiative.

“It is not enough to strike the shackles from business. The duty of statesmanship is not negative merely. It is constructive also. We must show that we understand what business needs and that we know how to supply it.

“No man, however casual and superficial his observation of the conditions now prevailing in the country, can fail to see that one of the chief things business needs now, and will need increasingly as it gains in scope and vigor in the years immediately ahead of us, is the proper means by which readily to vitalize its credit, corporate and individual, and its originative brains.

“What will it profit us to be free if we are not to have the best and most accessible instrumentalities of commerce and enterprise? What will it profit us to be quit of one kind of monopoly if we are to remain in the grip of another and more effective kind? How are we to gain and keep the confidence of the business commu-

CHAP. nity unless we show that we know how both to aid and to
CXIV. protect it. What shall we say if we make fresh enter-
1913. prise necessary and also make it very difficult by leaving
all else except the tariff just as we found it?

“The tyrannies of business, big and little, lie within the field of credit. We know that. Shall we not act upon the knowledge? Do we not know how to act upon it? If a man cannot make his assets available at pleasure, his assets of capacity and character and resource, what satisfaction is it to him to see opportunity beckoning to him on every hand, when others have the keys of credit in their pockets and treat them as all but their own private possession?

“It is perfectly clear that it is our duty to supply the new banking and currency system the country needs, and that it will immediately need it more than ever.

“The only question is, when shall we supply it—now, or later, after the demands shall have become reproaches that we were so dull and so slow? Shall we hasten to change the tariff laws and then be laggards about making it possible and easy for the country to take advantage of the change? There can be only one answer to that question. We must act now, at whatever sacrifice to ourselves. It is a duty which the circumstances forbid us to postpone. I should be recreant to my deepest convictions of public obligation did I not press it upon you with solemn and urgent insistence.

“The principles upon which we should act are also clear. The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings.

“Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses.

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“And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.

“The committees of the congress, to which legislation of this character is referred, have devoted careful and dispassionate study to the means of accomplishing these objects. They have honored me by consulting me. They are ready to suggest action.

“I have come to you, as the head of the government and the responsible leader of the party in power, to urge action now, while there is time to serve the country deliberately and as we should, in a clear air of common counsel. I appeal to you with a deep conviction of duty. I believe that you share this conviction. I therefore appeal to you with confidence.

“I am at your service without reserve to play my part in any way you may call upon me to play it in this great enterprise of exigent reform which it will dignify and distinguish us to perform and discredit us to neglect.”

In order to obtain the views of the leading bankers of the country the senate committee on banking and currency presented to the American Bankers Association a list of thirty-three questions bearing on the subject. To these the association replied in an extended statement as follows:

“It is possible for the treasury department to furnish the country with a safe currency, but it would be difficult to make that currency elastic, in the sense of contracting and expanding according to the needs of the public. The

CHAP. experience of commercial nations is that results can be
CXIV. better accomplished by the creation of a privately owned
1913. central organization dominated and controlled by the
government, as, for instance, the Imperial Bank of Ger-
many, or the Bank of France. It serves to take the mat-
ter out of politics.

“The great danger is that if borrowers go direct to the treasury, politics would become an all important and dominating influence. Our government experienced great difficulty in retiring the greenbacks in gold as presented, at a recent period, although their total amounted to less than \$350,000,000. Four bond issues during one administration became necessary to obtain gold for that purpose. If the amount of treasury notes outstanding were to be multiplied by seven or eight, the responsibility resting upon the government would be still greater.

“With an overflowing treasury and ample gold, no anxiety would be felt, and little difficulty would be experienced in meeting such obligations, but we know from the past that we are bound to have times in the future when the treasury will not be overflowing and the gold reserve will be encroached upon, and the credit of the government would then be unnecessarily brought in issue.

“We cannot have any credit in the country better than that of the government under which we live, and it is for the interest of all to protect that credit against all possible danger.

“The policy of the government has been to protect itself against maturing liabilities by making even its future obligations payable on or after a fixed date at its pleasure. The proposal that it should assume not only large demand liabilities or note issues but also enormous demand liabilities in the form of bank reserve deposits would be a radical and dangerous reversal of its policy.”

The first and one of the most important questions

asked by the senate committee referred to the bankers' views on the defects of the present currency. The bankers' committee answered as follows:

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"A principal defect is the absolute rigidity of our currency. A bank, in order to take out circulation, must invest more money in government bonds than it is permitted to issue in currency, thereby impairing rather than increasing its power to aid commerce and trade. Outside of the three central reserve cities there is no redemption of national bank notes, except when they become unfit to circulate. This condition is inherent in the system and is certainly unsound.

"The system lacks cohesiveness, there being no provision for coöperation among the banks. Under strained financial conditions, when each bank is thrown on its own resources and must act independently of the rest, the lack of a system under which all could coöperate becomes keenly felt.

"The requirement that the banks must individually control their own portion of the legal reserve money of the country, without being provided with proper means for the protection or replenishment of their legal reserves, is unscientific and economically wasteful.

"An unsound system of reserves under which, in periods of anxiety, it becomes necessary in self-protection for each bank to contend against every other bank; the dissipation and scattering of the great bulk of the reserve money of the country into a large number of small hoardings, completely destroying the strength and power which might be gained by unification and massing of reserves for the mutual support of the banks and the common good of the public.

"The use of so much of the legal reserve money of the country in actual circulation for ordinary business purposes is another economical waste. No provision is made for the use of any substitute for legal reserve money as a circulating medium other than the national

CHAP. bank notes secured by government bonds, which are
CXIV. as inflexible in their volume and therefore as irrespon-
1913. sive to the fluctuating commercial needs for them as
the legal reserve money itself.

“The gold certificates now in circulation, amounting to \$1,085,489,000, being merely warehouse receipts for an equal amount of gold in the government treasury, form the most conspicuous example of this economic waste.

“The lack of elasticity in the circulation, all forms of our present circulating medium being rigidly fixed in amount. The necessities of commerce for a circulating medium are arbitrarily met with a fixed amount of it, which does not respond in its volume to the fluctuating demand. Assuming that the aggregate amount may be just sufficient for an average volume of general business, then there must be a surplus when the volume of business falls below the average and a deficiency when the volume of business rises above the average.

“The restriction of the use by the banks of their legal reserves and the prohibition of their lending power in the presence of unusual demands upon them, without means of protecting their reserves by the use of any satisfactory substitute therefor or of replenishing them through adequate rediscounting facilities which would enable them to convert their available assets into cash or legal reserve.

“The lack of provision for the organization of American banking institutions in foreign countries which are necessary for the development of our foreign trade.

“The independent treasury system, under which the government acts as partial custodian of its own funds, resulting in irregular withdrawals of money from the bank reserves and from circulation and materially interfering with the even tenor of general business.

“No open market for commercial paper; banks of sufficient capital should be allowed to accept drafts, for

a commission, with a view to the sale of the acceptances in the open market, thus establishing a current market for commercial paper and thereby enabling banks to buy, whenever they have an overplus of funds, or sell in this market, whenever they wish to strengthen their position or meet demands against them, or accumulate funds for the use of their regular clientele."

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In answer to the direct question whether there should be a central reserve association, with branches or a number of reserve associations, with or without central control, the bankers replied:

"In our opinion, one central reserve association, with branches, would best serve our present necessities. Failing that, a small number of regional reserve associations, also with branches, might be organized to serve the purpose. The smaller the number of regional reserve associations, however, the more effective the reserve control.

"If there are to be many regional reserve associations they should be under some kind of control, in which both the government and the various associations should have representation.

"The commission does not favor continuance of bond secured currency, the objection being that the volume of currency is thus arbitrarily limited.

"One unfortunate consequence of this artificial condition," the statement continues, "is that the nation's bonds, which should be widely held by citizens as their choicest investment, are held almost exclusively by banks for circulation or government deposits."

One of the most important recommendations of the commission is made in reply to the question: "Should an elastic currency be authorized by law?"

"We believe that such a currency should be authorized by law," the answer says, "the amount to be controlled by the gold reserve requirements against it. Such reserve should be ample—not less than 50 per

CHAP. cent as a recognized minimum. A special tax might
CXIV. be levied upon any deficiency of the reserve below the
1913. stipulated amount of it, this tax to be increased as the
deficiency increases. Such provision would, in our opinion,
prevent overexpansion of the currency.

“Such currency should be issued by a central reserve association, the commission believes, rather than by a member of a regional reserve or the United States treasury. These notes should be made a first lien not of the government but of holders of the notes upon the assets of the association which issues them.”

Replying to the question whether all currency should be based upon gold, the commission says:

“Reserve money should preferably be gold, but the proportion of greenbacks and silver now included in our so-called lawful money, if not increased, is of diminishing importance, and if continued as eligible for reserve will not cause embarrassment.

“The percentage of reserve money against deposits, either in the form of deposits subject to check or in the form of circulating notes, should be left to the discretion of the management of the central or regional reserve association, but if a restriction is imposed it should be in the form of a tax upon the deficiency in reserve when below 50 per cent.”

The bankers did not commit themselves to any definite statement whether there should be any change in the present requirement of law that 25 per cent of deposits shall be held as reserve. The advisability of such a change, in their opinion, would depend upon the manner in which the reserves are to be controlled and protected.

CHAPTER CXV.

IMPEACHMENT OF GOVERNOR SULZER.

Serious Charges Against Governor Sulzer, of New York.—Ar-raigned by the Legislature.—Nature of the Accusations.—Trouble Between Sulzer and Murphy.—How Sulzer Came to the Front.—Part Taken by Murphy.—Revolt of the Governor.—Not Honest in His Professions.—Success Based on Tactics of a Demagogue.—Sulzer Warned of Attack.—Charges of Woman Fall Flat.—Latest Attempt More Successful.—Weakness With the Public.—Position of Mrs. Sulzer.—Tammany Hall Still Strong.—Governors Previously Impeached.

GOVERNOR SULZER, of New York state, a Tammany Hall CHAP. man elected to the position in 1912, early made it mani- CXV. fest that he did not propose to accept the demands of 1913. his political master and measures were taken to get rid of him. These took form, August 13th, 1913, in the adoption of articles of impeachment by the lower house of the legislature by a vote of 79 to 45. These articles accuse Gov. Sulzer of committing perjury in connection with the official statement of contributions to his campaign fund; of misusing part of the contributions for stock-speculating purposes; of corruptly using his power as governor to affect the price of securities in which he was interested; that he was guilty of criminal and corrupt practices in office, etc. This arraignment was accepted by the senate and the hearing set for September 22, 1913.

Stripped of legal verbiage the articles of impeachment were as follows:

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1—That Gov. Sulzer, in filing his statement of campaign expenses, set forth that his entire receipts were \$5,460 and his expenditures \$7,724; that this statement “was false and was intended by him to be false”; that his list of receipts failed to include eleven specific contributions, ranging in amount from \$100 to \$2,500.

2—That Gov. Sulzer attached to his statement of campaign expenses an affidavit declaring that the statement was “a full and detailed statement of all moneys received or contributed or expended by him directly or indirectly.” That this affidavit “was false and was corruptly made by him,” and that he was “guilty of willful and corrupt perjury.”

3—That Gov. Sulzer “was guilty of criminal and corrupt conduct in his office as governor and was guilty of bribing witnesses.” The specific charge is that while the Frawley committee was investigating the governor’s campaign accounts he “fraudulently induced” three witnesses (his campaign manager, a personal friend, and a stock broker) “to withhold their testimony from said committee.”

4—That the governor was guilty of “suppressing evidence” in violation of the state penal law. The specific charge is that he “practiced deceit and fraud and used threats and menaces with intent to prevent the Frawley committee from procuring the attendance and testimony of certain witnesses.”

5—That the governor was guilty of “preventing and dissuading a witness from attending under a subpoena” the sessions of the Frawley committee. The witness referred to is Frederick L. Colwell, alleged to have acted as Sulzer’s agent in certain stock transactions.

6—That prior to his election the governor appropriated campaign contributions to his own use, “and used the same, or a large part thereof, in speculating in stocks * * * and thereby stole such checks and was guilty of larceny.”

7—That Gov. Sulzer promised and threatened to use the authority and influence of his office for the purpose of affecting the vote or political action of certain public officers, including two assemblymen. CHAP.
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8—That he “corruptly used his authority as governor to affect the prices of securities on the New York Stock Exchange, in some of which he was speculating.”

Back of all this there is an interesting history. William Sulzer is a product of the East side in New York city, a section not particularly noted for fineness in morals or political affiliations. Sulzer, a lawyer by profession, was looked upon as a smart man and was taken up by Tammany Hall. He served several terms in congress, and was chairman of the committee on foreign relations. During all this time he gained the name of being an independent, high-principled man, but nobody thought he would ever revolt against his political sponsor.

In the fall of 1912 the Democrats thought they had a chance to carry the state provided the right man was nominated for governor. It seemed difficult, however, to pick the man. At this juncture Charles Murphy, the chief sachem of Tammany, threw his powerful influence for Sulzer. Murphy said Sulzer was to be the man, and what Murphy said went. Sulzer was nominated and elected.

Almost from the start Sulzer began to make it plain that he did not propose to take orders from Murphy or anybody representing him. Murphy submitted a list of appointments he wished made, and a program of the legislation desired. Sulzer rejected both. Murphy kept quiet and waited. He was not pleased, he was not charitable. He was merely biding his opportunity. At last this opportunity came. Swollen with his own pride and importance, confident that the people would applaud him, Sulzer insolently refused to see Murphy on any pretext and flatly declined to name any of the latter's men to office.

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All this, probably, would have been good politics so far as catching the public is concerned, if Sulzer's record had been clean. But, like many another man in his position, his rise to power had been accomplished by a lot of demagoguery. His public record was full of holes, affording vulnerable targets for the batteries of those who knew the facts. Sulzer was warned of the certain outcome of a war on him should one be made, but he affected to laugh at it. He even made public announcement of the plans of his enemies.

"I am threatened with political extinction," he said, "unless I accede to demands for patronage and legislation. Agents of Tammany have come to me to warn me of the consequences of Murphy's wrath. Agents are sent to all parts of the country to pry out any evidence that may be used to my discredit."

The first stroke was the attempt of a woman to make it appear that she had been wronged by Sulzer. It fell flat. The woman's story may have been true, but the people were not in a mood to receive it. Then came the charges of corruption. To these Sulzer had, in a measure, paved the way himself. His attitude in dealing with Murphy had not been altogether that of a modest, honest public servant. That Murphy (or rather Tammany Hall) was a bad egg politically seemed apparent, but it was also evident that Sulzer was reaching out after prestige, trying to ride into power on the back of a reform he was supposed to be creating. In other words, the people of New York state got the impression that the governor didn't care so much about giving them an honest, clean administration as he did of fostering a sentiment that would be favorable to his political ambitions. This may wrong the man. If it does he is largely to blame for the false impression himself. To put it mildly his actions were at least illy advised.

It did not take long for the opponents of Sulzer to

crystallize this hostile sentiment and take advantage of it. When they were ready they struck, and struck fearfully hard. It was a much more effective blow than the woman affair. CHAP.
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At the time of this writing Gov. Sulzer has made no defense save to deny the charges brought against him, and to engage a strong array of counsel to handle his case. These include Irving G. Vann, former judge of the New York court of appeals; D. Cady Herrick, Louis Marshall, Senator Hinman and Austin G. Fox.

Mrs. Sulzer, to whom the governor was married in 1908, accepts all responsibility for the use of campaign contributions in stock speculation. The governor, she says, was a mere baby in financial affairs and was in the habit of turning over to her considerable sums of money which she used as she saw fit. She signed his name to checks as occasion required, and if there was any speculating done it was done by her. This refers to the charge of wrongfully diverting campaign funds only and leaves unanswered those of "criminal and corrupt conduct," "suppressing evidence," etc., and "misuse of his power as governor," to all of which Sulzer must answer himself.

It is an interesting fact that while Murphy was dictating the nomination of Sulzer as governor one of the delegates to the state convention, angered by this apparent determination of Tammany Hall to name Sulzer as the standard bearer, made an impassioned address during which he foretold the downfall of Murphy in the following language:

"This man who sits here surrounded by his satellites, dispensing favors, dictating policies, and distributing the nominations of a great party—look at him well, for this is the last time you will look upon such a scene. For him, too, the hour will soon strike, and upon the ruins of his fall will arise the Democracy of the future."

The time may come when the Murphys and Tammany Hall will totter to their fall, but apparently it is still

CHAP. far distant. So long as they can control a safe, working
CXV. majority of the legislature, there is small danger of
1913. wreck. But the heaven of disaster is at work.

Seven times before in the history of this country similar efforts have been made to get rid of state executives by impeachment proceedings. Two were successful, one man resigned under charges, one was acquitted, and against three the proceedings were dropped. The list is as follows:

1862—Charles Robinson, of Kansas, acquitted.

1868—Harrison Reed, Florida, charges dropped.

1870—William W. Holden, North Carolina, removed.

1871—Powell Clayton, Arkansas, charges dropped.

1871—David Butler, Nebraska, removed.

1872—Henry C. Warmouth, Louisiana, term expired and charges dropped.

1876—Adelbert Ames, Mississippi, resigned.

Against all of these men charges on which impeachment proceedings were based were voted by the various legislatures.

Sulzer is not a strong man personally. He is the creature of circumstances. Inclined to be good he is consumed by an ardent ambition and has sacrificed his best prospects for the sake of advancing himself. Few people give him credit for having any real grievance against Tammany as a public evil. They rather look upon him as a man who finds Tammany in his way, a stumbling block to his advance. Hence he has very few strong friends in his present trouble. There are thousands of people who will be sorry to see him sacrificed, and thousands of others, previously counted among his supporters, who will say: "It served him right. He made war on the men who made political success possible for him."

CHAPTER CXVI.

FORTIFYING THE PANAMA CANAL.

Plea for Armament.—Contention of Foreign Nations.—Why Fortification is Necessary.—Valuable Work Left Without Protection.—Absurdities of Neutralization.—Defenselessness of the Canal.—Its Importance to the United States.—Why It Should Be Fortified.—At Mercy of Aggressive Enemy.—Nature of Fortifications Necessary.—Situation on the Atlantic Coast.—What Gen. Grant Foresaw.—Pacific Coast Affairs.—Attitude of Central and South American Countries.—Other Possible Canal Routes.—What This Country Should Do.—Advantage in Control of Routes Even if Lines Are Not Constructed.—Heading Off Foreign Enemies.

DURING the summer of 1913 the question of fortifying the Panama canal again began to assume supreme importance in the minds of the American people. The more the subject was studied the more apparent it became that leaving the canal without armed protection was exposing the work to seizure by some foreign power with a strong navy. Statesmen without regard to politics began to question the wisdom of the non-fortification policy. Foreign nations, of course, opposed armament of the waterway. This was natural. They had no money tied up in it, had not been years constructing it, and had nothing at stake aside from the right of passage.

With a money investment of over \$325,000,000, and a labor representing some eleven years of hard work, in order to secure a highway between the oceans, the United

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CHAP. States is in a much different position. With the comple-
CXVI. tion of the canal we will be in possession of one of the
1913. most valuable strategic points in the world, both with ref-
erence to war and to commerce. Its great value is its
greatest danger. Its possession is of such inestimable
value to any nation that in case of war it is inevitable
that an attempt will be made to acquire it.

With one accord the important European powers cry out for the strict neutralization of the canal, for the utter absence of anything like means of offense or defense. This is natural. Should we have trouble with any of the leading powers abroad it would be comparatively easy, in case of the canal being unfortified, to deal us a terrible blow in our commercial vitals. Neutralization will render just so much easier the task of those who oppose this government. Neutralization never saved anything from seizure by one of the great powers if it wanted it. The neutralization of Belgium is not going to keep its territory from being violated by the German armies the next time there is war with France, as is well attested by the existing German war preparations. What value Belgium and Switzerland attach to their neutralization is shown by the way in which these two countries have fortified and armed themselves.

Another point against neutralization is that it robs us of all benefit of the canal in case of war. The canal held securely in our possession means the unobstructed passage of our fleet and the necessity for the enemy's fleet to remain in its home ocean or to go through the Straits of Magellan, an additional distance of from 4,000 to 6,000 miles.

What are we building the canal for? Why are we putting into it millions of money and tons of human brawn? For the commercial and naval advantage of other countries? In order that our competitors in the world's race for wealth and fame may defeat us at our own game? What would be thought of a business man

who would furnish a rival with the means of meeting him on equal footing in the same field of endeavor? Yet, stripped of all palaver, this is just what the proposition of the foreigners means. Their contention as to armament is bad enough; that as to not giving American vessels any advantages in a waterway built with American money and operated by American brains is, if anything, worse. They are the pretexts of people looking for trouble.

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Our occupation of a continent with frontage on two oceans would, in case of war with a European or Asiatic power, put us in the same position Russia found herself in during her war with Japan. If we put half our fleet in each ocean we have only half our strength available to face an enemy. Such an enemy, while not strong enough perhaps to defeat our whole fleet, could defeat half of it before the remaining half could come to its help. When the remaining half arrived, having to face a superior enemy flushed with victory, it also would be defeated. If Russia had had all her fleet in Asiatic waters the Japanese fleet would have been defeated. As it was, being superior to the part in the far east, they were able to destroy it before the fleet from Europe could arrive. Having thus disposed of part of Russia's navy, they were able to defeat the balance when it finally appeared on the scene.

Such a splitting of force, exposing the different parts to being defeated one at a time, is a violation of the cardinal principles of war. Our fleet must be kept united in one ocean or the other, for then it is able to bring its whole strength to bear. Also this unity may give us such superiority that a nation considering attacking us will refrain where her superiority to half our fleet would only prove a temptation.

Our possible European or Asiatic enemies facing only one ocean are freed from this problem of protecting two different coast lines separated by a continent. The pos-

CHAP. session of the Panama canal in good working order means
CXVI. that for purposes of defense our Atlantic and Pacific
1913. coasts have become practically one, facing, as it were, one
ocean.

We retain this advantage and deprive our enemies of an opportunity to attack both our coasts as long as we retain the Panama canal and there is no other canal by which an enemy can pass. If there is another canal, and it is in the enemy's hands, or if they gain possession of the Panama canal, then they can send their fleet where they will, while we must keep ours in one ocean or send it through the Straits of Magellan.

This being well understood the first blow we may expect in war will be one at the Panama canal, with the intention of taking it from us entirely, or so damaging it as to prevent the passage of our fleet.

The preparations for the defense of the canal must be made now. When war comes it will be too late. The cardinal principle of modern war as understood everywhere and as practiced everywhere except in England and the United States, is to make, in peace times, such perfect preparation for war that when it comes a staggering blow can immediately be dealt the enemy. Generally this blow will be the only declaration of war received.

To get the full benefit of the canal and to prevent our enemies from benefiting by it, we must now, while we are at peace and have the opportunity:

First—So provide for the physical defense of the canal that it cannot be captured or injured by a surprise attack.

Second—Prevent all possible enemies from occupying and preparing bases from which in war time they could easily attack the canal or prevent the use of routes leading to it.

Third—Prevent the acquisition by any other nation

of any other route over which a rival canal could be built.

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To protect the canal itself there must be first sea coast fortifications to keep hostile fleets from attacking it from the sea. As these fortifications cannot keep an enemy from going out of reach of their guns and landing a force at some such place as Puerto Bello, for instance, there must be sufficient infantry, cavalry, and field artillery on the isthmus to defeat any force which can be landed to capture the canal.

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One of the greatest dangers is that some small expedition of, - say, fifty or a hundred men, having been landed secretly at night some distance from the canal, will approach quietly through the jungle, and then descending quickly and unexpectedly on one of the locks, will in a short time, with high explosives, destroy enough of the machinery to render the canal useless for six months or a year.

To prevent this there must be the proper military guard at all the weak points of the canal and on all possible trails approaching it. So that the best use may be made of the troops on the isthmus, military roads must be constructed throughout the canal zone to the field fortifications, which must be built on every possible line of approach by land.

To prevent knowledge being gained of the defenses of the zone, to prevent the possibility of enemies bent on damage within the limits of the zone, there must be no settlements, no towns, within the limit of the zone. It must be a military zone, under military government, inhabited only by the employes necessary for the operation of the canal and the soldiers necessary for its defense.

All military history points to the necessity for this course being followed. All that is asked of the American people is that for the sake of the proper protection of a canal which means so much to the whole nation

CHAP. they voluntarily give up the privilege of settling a piece
CXVI. of tropical country roughly fifty miles long and ten miles
1913. wide.

When it comes to the prevention of possible enemies from occupying and preparing bases from which they could attack the canal or prevent the use of routes leading to it the question is a more difficult one.

Immediately we are brought in contact with the foreign policies of other nations and the relationship existing between them. Cuba being virtually under our protection as regards her foreign relations, we can easily prevent the occupation of any base in her territory. In Jamaica the British have a base nearer the canal than any of ours and on the main route leading to it.

The islands of Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, and the Danish West Indies are all important because containing harbors or ports which can be used as bases and because all are on and therefore controlling trade routes leading to the canal. Porto Rico being ours, there is no question here. With the other two it is different. Mole Saint Nicholas, Hayti, has attracted attention since Columbus landed there in 1492. The French in 1764 and again in 1846 wished to establish a base there, but both times were frustrated by the English. During our civil war the Spanish tried to seize the whole island.

At the present time the Germans are trying to gain control. In 1906 a concession was granted by the Haytian government. The Germans are supposed to be back of it. Gen. Grant when president appreciated the value of Mole Saint Nicholas and called the attention of Congress to efforts then being made by a European power to purchase it. Gen. Grant also was anxious to bring about the annexation of Santo Domingo, particularly so as to secure Samana bay for the United States as a base. The president of Santo Domingo, his cabinet, and the people were all in favor of annexation. In 1869 the treaty was signed by the Dominican govern-

ment. It failed, however, to get the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate. Previously a movement had been started in the house of representatives to bring about annexation by joint resolution. The resolution was not acted upon, however, prior to the adjournment of congress in 1870.

In his third annual message President Andrew Johnson called the attention of congress to the fact that a treaty for the cession of the Danish West Indies had been concluded with Denmark. Nothing came of it, however, congress as in the case of Santo Domingo refusing or being unable to look into the future.

The recent attempt of the United States to acquire these islands failed nominally because of Danish patriotism, but in reality because of German interference. Since then the Hamburg-American line and German travel representatives have acquired interests looking to the establishment of a base.

The Dutch islands off the coast of Venezuela must be watched. They were used by the German warships as bases during her trouble with Venezuela. In the case of Holland being swallowed by Germany, a not unlikely event, these islands would become German.

On the Pacific coast of Central America there is but one good harbor. That is in the Gulf of Fonseca. This gulf belongs to Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. At the present time negotiations are under way between the United States and Nicaragua looking to the right to use the Nicaraguan part of this gulf as an American naval base. This is violently opposed by Salvador for no other reason than that she is anti-American and will do anything to annoy the government of the United States.

The Cocos islands, which belong to Costa Rica, are well placed to be used as a base. Costa Rica is friendly to the United States and would probably part with the islands without difficulty.

CHAP. The Galapagos islands, which belong to Ecuador,
CXVI. are excellently situated with respect to the canal and
1913. the South American and Asiatic trade routes leading to
it. The trade winds make it possible to lay down coal
more cheaply in these islands than in Panama. They
have therefore every advantage.

In 1851 preliminary negotiations for the transfer of the islands to the United States were entered into with Ecuador. However, as usual, nothing came of them. In the fifty-sixth congress Senator Dodge introduced a resolution proposing the purchase of these islands. The idea was that the United States should purchase the islands for \$8,000,000, the money to be used in the sanitation of Guayquil, Ecuador, the worst plague spot on the face of the earth. The negotiations fell through this time through no fault of the United States. Not only were Ecuadorian interests hostile to the United States opposed to a sale or lease, but also Germany, Japan, and Chile.

A German syndicate, backed by the imperial German government, had been very busy trying to obtain concessions in these islands. In 1908, Japan made overtures to Ecuador for the purchase of these islands as a coaling station.

Outwardly the most trouble was raised by Chile. Chile, because of her predominant military and naval strength, has ruled the west coast of South America. Her word has been law. The opening of the Panama canal injects the United States into this region and, consequently, threatens the dominance of Chile. Hence the Chilean policy has been to as far as possible unite the South American states in opposition to the United States. To do this she has raised the cry that the United States will use the canal to export and levy tribute from South America. She has maintained that the acquisition of the Galapagos islands by the United States would

be but the first step in the absorption by them of South American territory.

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This hostility to the United States for one reason or another is of the utmost importance, as it lends itself readily to the schemes of our possible European or Asiatic enemies. The defeat by Japan of our attempt to lease Magdalena Bay, Mexico, is a good example of it. Our recent failures to acquire the Danish West Indies and the Galapagos islands are other examples.

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There are two other possible canal routes to connect the Atlantic and Pacific. One is the Nicaraguan route; the other is the Atrato river route in Columbia. Zelaya of Nicaragua was bitterly disappointed when the Panama canal route was decided upon. He had expected to profit largely personally by the construction of the Nicaragua canal. He became and remained a bitter enemy of the United States. He turned to Japan for assistance.

In 1908 negotiations were under way by which Japan was to purchase the Nicaraguan route for \$8,000,000. The same treaty which allows us to use Fonseca Gulf as a naval base gives us a permanent option on the Nicaraguan canal route. For these rights we are to pay \$3,000,000 to Nicaragua. This treaty lacks only confirmation by the senate.

At the same time that Japan considered the Nicaraguan route, she also considered the Atrato route. When Colombia's hostility to ourselves is considered, it is easily seen how great is the chance that she may damage us by allowing this route to fall into other hands.

The advantage in acquiring all possible bases and routes is that their acquisition by us once and for all removes the chance of any dispute arising as to the result of their attempted acquisition and use by other powers. If we do not have them, other powers are sure to attempt to gain them. Then we will have our choice of perhaps having to resort to force to prevent it or else allow a

CHAP. possible enemy to finally establish herself where she can
CXVI. do us incalculable damage in war time.

1913. Here we have the entire panorama of the Panama situation spread out so that a child may readily understand it. What would be thought of the man who, having erected a fine house and stored it with valuable goods, left it exposed to fire and thieves without insurance? Yet, this is what the foreign diplomats propose we should do with the Panama canal. It does not seem possible that this destructive policy will be acceptable to the American people.

CHAPTER CXVII.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FIRST MESSAGE.

Lofty in Tone, but Devoid of Practical Suggestions.—Disappointment to the Public.—An Invocation Rather Than a Message.—Notable Chiefly for Its Brevity.—What the New President Said.—Appeal to Loyalty of People.—Speaks in Allegorical Terms.—Duty Before the Public.—Iniquity of the Tariff.—Handicaps of Banking and Currency System.—Need for Conservation and Reclamation.—Idealistic Rather Than Practical.—Commended by English Press.—What Vice-President Marshall Said.—His Address to the Senate.—Views Held by President Wilson on Public Topics.—What He Advocates.

IT WOULD be difficult to conceive of a public document CHAP.
CXVII. more lofty in tone and felicitous of phrase than President Wilson's inaugural address delivered March 4, 1913. And yet it was a disappointment. A mass of glittering generalities, nowhere did the new executive outline what should be done, nowhere did President Wilson say what his policy or that of congress should be. His address was rather in the form of a prayer, an invocation, that all might be well with this land of ours. He appealed to the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen. Aside from this the address was unique. It was singularly brief. Few new executives have ever contented themselves with so scant an array of words. He said:

“There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the house of representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been

CHAP. completed. The senate about to assemble will also be
CXVII. Democratic. The offices of president and vice-president
1913. have been put into the hands of Democrats.

“What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

“It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the nation is using the party for a large and definite purpose.

“No one can mistake the purpose for which the nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view.

“Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister.

“Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

“We see that in many things life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men.

“It is great, also, very great in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their

efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. CHAP.
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“We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing and contains it in rich abundance. 1913.

“But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient.

“We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed-out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through.

“The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat.

“With the great government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

“At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased

CHAP. and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision
CXVII. we approach new affairs.

1913. "Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it.

"There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been 'Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself,' while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves.

"We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

"We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes.

"We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

"We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items:

"A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world violates the just principles of taxation and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests.

"A banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits.

"An industrial system which, take it on all its sides,

financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country. CHAP. CXVII. 1913.

“A body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs.

“Water courses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine.

“We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

“Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence.

“This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with.

“Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

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“These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old fashioned, never to be neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day. To lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man’s conscience and vision of the right.

“It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste.

“We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

“And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil.

“The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God’s own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one.

“We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

“This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedi-

cation. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do.

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"Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try?"

"I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

Look at it as we may it is a peculiar address; a plea for help, rather than an avowal of what will be attempted in the line of government activity. It is commendable, in that it does not attempt to tell congress what it should do. It is idealistic rather than practical. Press comment on the address was favorable, especially by the English papers.

The London morning papers in editorial comments treated it as a departure both in style and substance from the traditional speeches on such occasions, and said it initiates or rather connects a new era in social reform. The comments were wholly in admiration of the address so far as the aims of the president are concerned, but doubts were expressed as to what may be expected to be achieved by the new administration.

The Daily Telegraph dwelt on what it calls the transparent sincerity of the address and its eloquent and ornate presentation of humane ideals. It compared it to the speeches through which William J. Bryan became the idol of millions of Americans, and said:

"President Wilson has plucked at last the string of pure idealism. The chastened tone of his address has a very real correspondence with the facts of political psychology in the United States today."

After calling attention to the limitations of the presidential and legislative powers and the divisions of opinion among the Democrats themselves, the paper said:

"Whatever happens, President Wilson's term is cer-

CHAP. tain to be a remarkable and fervid period in the modern
CXVII. development of the United States."

1913. The Tory Morning Post printed some unwontedly sympathetic remarks on the combination of character and caution in the address, in which it said:

"There is nothing to antagonize or alarm the great interests of the country, while there is yet a note of sympathy for the poor and suffering which is well calculated to touch the heart of humanity."

The Post commended Mr. Wilson's caution against sentimentalism and expressed the opinion that the thesis of the address is no less remarkable because it is not pugnacious.

The Daily Graphic, while expressing the fear that the times are not too propitious for an idealist, heartily wished the president good luck, and said:

"The echoes of his noble address will bring to the world which is in the mad pursuit of international uncharitableness and bloated schemes of a military holocaust a welcome reminder of better things and more manly strivings."

The Daily Mail is the least appreciative of all the papers. It thinks the inaugural reads rather like a tract and says it conveys somewhat too black an impression of modern conditions in America. It adds:

"One fact at least clearly appears—the era of free competition in the United States is ended and the day of government control of industry is at hand."

The paper pointed out that in a life where there are going to be prizes for everybody the prizes must be of small value and that the attraction of the United States for the energetic people of Europe as a place where the rewards of success are the greatest will henceforward be to some extent lacking. Moreover, the paper said, it does not see how the trusts can be "busted" without destroying the business prosperity which means "the full dinner pail."

The radical newspapers were frankly delighted with the address. The Daily News and Leader said:

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"President Wilson has set before his fellow-citizens a fine ideal and indicated to them the road by which it can be pursued."

The Daily Chronicle said: "The inaugural address of President Wilson is a striking expression of that elevated democracy which has long been absent from high politics in the United States. The United States must be heartily congratulated at having such a fearless statesman at its head. We look for the influence of his spirit to spread far beyond his own country."

Vice-President Marshall was a little more outspoken. In addressing the senate over which he is to preside he pleaded for fair dealing and urged the senate to place the United States in the front of all nations by the rigid observance of all treaty obligations.

"I offer no surety as to my discharge of duties," he said, "other than a personal pledge I will seek to familiarize myself with them and will endeavor always to exercise that complaisance and forbearance which are essential to him who presides over great debates upon great public questions by great men.

"Divergent views relative to this body would be less divergent if the American people would come to realize that on all sides of questions much may truthfully be said. Such an attitude of the public mind would eliminate the view that this body is distinctively deliberate and not thoroughly patriotic. Charges of bad faith based on an attitude of mind or conduct should never be made until it is clearly established that the resultant action is the outcome of personal interest or improper and dishonorable business or social relations.

"Your action has not always met with universal approval, but up to this good hour no workable substitute for the exercise of the functions of this body has

CHAP. been proposed. It is not needful for me here and now
CXVII. to accept a brief in your defense.

1913. "To my mind government is the harness with which a people draws its load of civilization. If the harness be properly adjusted the load, though heavy, will be drawn with ease and no part of the people will be galled. The senate is the blinders, intended to keep the people from shying at imaginary dangers and toppling into the ditch our system of government. So long as the blinders serve this purpose they are the most valuable part of the harness, but if they be drawn so closely to the eyes as to prevent the seeing of real dangers then they should either be spread or done away with entirely.

"With neither right nor desire to infringe upon the prerogatives of the president so soon to be, I beg the expression of the opinion that whatever diverse views may be held relative to the work of this body, all persons are agreed that under the constitution the senate of the United States is singularly the guardian of the people's honor.

"When we enter the chancelleries of the world and submit to their judgments, not only our right to be, but our right to be respected, we can hope to be measured in but one way; and we must be able to show that the solemn treaty obligations of this republic will be kept with the same scrupulous honesty, both of spirit and letter, whether made with the humblest people of this continent struggling for self-government or with the mightiest monarch of the old world.

"If any one, in the name of the American people, either in violation of treaty obligations or the manifest purpose of the Monroe doctrine, has taken aught while this body was deliberating, it is your duty to ascertain all facts thereto. And if wrong or injustice has been done, even to the humblest republic, let this people be brave enough and sufficiently honest to make reparation."

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER.

The Sixty-third Congress.—The Men at the Helm.—The Minor Cabinet Appointments.—The Democrats in Power Throughout the Country.—The Legislation Enacted.—The Tariff Bill and the Income Tax.—The Federal Reserve Banks.—Anti-trust Legislation and the Federal Trade Commission.—How the Democratic Party Made Good in the First Two Years.

At caucuses in both House and Senate, John Kern, Indiana, was made leader of the Senate, Champ Clark was again elected Speaker of the House and Oscar W. Underwood chairman of the still powerful Ways and Means Committee. Senator James P. Clarke, Arkansas, was chosen president pro tem. of the Senate. In the House the chairmanships of committees went almost wholly to Southerners. Here follows a number of the committees and the chairmen of same:

Banking and Currency, Glass, Virginia; Appropriations, Fitzgerald, New York; Rules, Henry, Texas; Judiciary, Clayton, Alabama; Rivers and Harbors, Sparkman, Florida; Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Adamson, Georgia; Foreign Affairs, Flood, Virginia; Naval Affairs, Padgett, Tennessee; Military Affairs, Hay, Virginia; Post Office and Post Roads, Moon, Tennessee; Agriculture, Lever, South Carolina; Public Buildings, Clark, Florida.

It speaks well for the country and for the good feeling prevailing throughout it that there was no criticism on the part of the North over the appointments. These men at the helm were considered Americans for America and nothing else. The president appointed the following assistant secretaries and at the time of appointment emphasized their importance. State, John E. Osborne, Ex-Governor of Wyoming; Treasury, John Skelton Williams; Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt; Agriculture, Beverly D. Galoway; Commerce, Edwin F. Sweet; Post Office,

Daniel C. Roper; Interior, Adrieus A. Jones; War, Henry S. Breckenridge; Labor, Louis F. Post; Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Charles P. Neill. Anthony Caminetti was made Commissioner General of Immigration. Ex-Governor John Burke of North Dakota was named United States Treasurer, and Professor John Basset Moore Counselor to the State Department.

The Democratic party had succeeded in electing governors in many states normally Republican. The reason for this was not so much the growth of this party but the great strength of Roosevelt at the fall election and the consequent small votes of the Republican office-seekers.

The president's stand before election had been for progress. The country now sat back watchful, anxious, waiting to see what he would do. There were many who were afraid that the new administration would be ultra-radical and that the country would suffer because of it. The radicals expected a great deal because of Bryan's strength and prestige. His apparent influence with the administration seemed to give some indication of what to expect.

Two notable measures were immediately fathered by the administration leaders. The first, the downward revision of the tariff, the same bill including a graduated income tax upon incomes of over \$4,000.00. The country, which expected some such measure gave it general approval, even Republican papers admitting that the measure was not nearly as radical as they had reason to expect. This was no indication that the measure was not far reaching, but showed the trend of the time. The most daring of radicals would have hesitated to bring forth such a measure ten years earlier.

"The bill makes the tax on necessities low but provides for a high tax on luxuries," was the way one of the standard periodicals put it. There was, however, great opposition to the measure from certain interests. The bitterest of fights was centered about the attempt to lower the tax on woollens and sugar. There was so much "lobbying" by interests,

so tremendous and powerful were their efforts to influence the legislation on these two commodities, that it brought out a remarkable and unusual utterance from the president which resulted in the appointment of a committee in the Senate to investigate the charges. The wool question—Schedule K—in the new measure called for free wool and included a sweeping reduction on manufactured goods made wholly or principally of wool. For instance, woollen goods from which clothing is made was reduced from 100 per cent to 35 per cent. Other woollen products, which had been taxed 60 to 100 per cent were reduced to a range of from 20 to 35 per cent. The sugar clause kept a moderate tariff on sugar for three years and then abolished it. The graduated income tax was intended to make up part of the revenue lost by the decrease in custom house receipts. It was a departure for this country in revenue legislation, although not new in European countries.

The bill was introduced in the House in April, 1913, but did not pass the Senate until September. On the day it passed the Senate the president issued a statement which showed his satisfaction of the work of his party and his belief that it would hold to its platform and pledges made before his election. Part of his statement is herewith quoted:

“A fight for the people and for free business which has lasted a long generation through has at last been won, handsomely and completely. A leadership and a steadfastness in counsel has been shown in both houses of which the Democratic party has reason to be very proud. There has been no weakness, nor confusion, nor drawing back, but a statesmanlike directness and command of circumstances.

“I am happy to have been connected with the Government of the nation at a time when such things could happen and to have worked in association with men who could do them. There is every reason to believe that currency reform will be carried through with equal energy, directness and loyalty to the general interest.

“When that is done this first session of the

Sixty-third Congress will have passed into history with an unrivalled distinction. I want to express my special admiration for the devoted, intelligent and untiring work of Mr. Underwood and Mr. Simmons, and the committees in association with them."

Before a notable gathering, the president signed the bill on October 3rd, 1913, making it a law.

In the meantime the other important measure—the Currency and Banking bill—which is treated elsewhere in this history (see Volume VII—Chapter CXIV) had been before both branches of Congress since June 26th. It was known as the Owen-Glass bill. Not until December 23rd did the bill come before the president, who had been anxious for its passage before the new year.

The cities and districts as selected by Secretaries McAdoo and Houston (the Comptroller of the Treasury, John Skelton Williams, who had been promoted to that office from assistant secretary of the treasury, was also a member of the committee upon the selection of districts and cities but he had taken office too late to help in the selection) were as follows:

Boston, 1st district, the six New England States; New York, 2nd district, New York State; Philadelphia, 3rd district, most of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware; Cleveland, 4th district, Ohio, western Pennsylvania, parts of West Virginia, Kentucky; Richmond, 5th district, District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, part of West Virginia; Atlanta, 6th district, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, parts of Mississippi, Tennessee; Chicago, 7th district, Iowa, most of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin; St. Louis, 8th district, parts of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, western Kentucky, Tennessee and north Mississippi; Minneapolis, 9th district, from the Great Lakes to the Rockies, including Montana, the Dakotas, Minnesota, north Wisconsin, Michigan; Kansas City, 10th district, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, western Missouri, parts of Oklahoma, New Mexico; Dallas, 11th district, Texas, most of Louisiana, southern Oklahoma, most of New Mexico, part of Arizona; San Francisco,

12th district, Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Utah and most of Arizona.

The president appointed the following five men to sit with the secretaries of the treasury and agriculture and the comptroller of the currency as the Federal Reserve Board—W. P. G. Harding, Paul M. Warburg, Dr. Adolph C. Miller, Charles Sumner Hamlin and Frederic A. Delano.

With the close of the year 1913 Congress and the president were already contemplating legislation affecting the so-called trust issues. The president and the leaders of the Democratic party felt that it was a year well spent and the general feeling throughout the country was of approval.

On Tuesday, January 20th, 1914, the president appeared before Congress with his expected message in reference to government trade control and the so-called anti-trust measures. The opinion of the country, so he said, as regards trusts and monopolies was clearing. But action was necessary—"constructive legislation, when successful, is always the embodiment of convincing experience and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience. . . . there were to be easy and simple business adjustments; nothing torn up by the roots. The practical measure would deal with interlocking directorates; this would result in independent industrial management, which would work in its own behalf. The Interstate Commerce Commission," he said, "under the proposed legislation, would have the power to regulate financial operations of transportation companies. . . . There would be created an interstate trade commission." And the president declared his belief that prosecutions should not be directed against business and its organization but against individuals who are guilty of offenses. On May 19, Congress began debating the anti-trust measures, three in number.

The Federal Trade Commission resulted from many years of thought and construction and its passage was practically unopposed. The commission consists of five members with full inquisitorial

powers into the operation and organization of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce, other than common carriers. The Commissioner of Corporations is one of the members of the board and the powers of the Bureau of Corporations were transferred to the commission.

In addition to the power to be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission—power to control the stock and bond issues of common carriers—which was made the second of the bills, the third measure, the so-called Clayton bill, prohibited intercorporate stock holding, and interlocking directorates in competing companies and corporate purchases of supplies in which corporate directors or officers are interested; also the exemption of labor organizations from the condemnation of the anti-trust acts, the modification of the law regarding injunctions and contempt of court and the personal punishment of directors, officers and agents of corporations whose violations of the anti-trust laws they have aided and abetted.

It will be interesting to read what the president had to say upon the successful completion of these bills which rounded out the three important measures; legislation which he and the administration had planned.

“With this new legislation there is clear and sufficient law to check and destroy the noxious growth in its infancy. Monopolies are built up by unfair methods of competition, and the new Trade Commission has power to forbid and prevent unfair competition, whether upon a big scale or upon a little; whether just begun or grown old and formidable. Monopoly is created also by putting the same men in charge of a variety of business enterprises, whether apparently related or unrelated to one another, by means of interlocking directorates. That the Clayton bill now in large measure prevents. Each enterprise must depend upon its own initiative and effectiveness for success, and upon the intelligence and business energy of the men who officer it. And

so all along the line: Monopoly is to be cut off at the roots.

"Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being, to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination.

"The accomplishment of this legislation seems to me a singularly significant thing. If our party were to be called upon to name the particular point of principle in which it differs from its opponents most sharply and in which it feels itself most definitely sustained by experience, we should no doubt say that it was this: That we would have no dealings with monopoly, but reject it altogether; while our opponents were ready to adopt it into the realm of law, and seek merely to regulate it and moderate it in its operation. It is our purpose to destroy monopoly and maintain competition as the only effectual instrument of business liberty.

"We have seen the nature and the power of monopoly exhibited. We know that it is more apt to control government than to be controlled by it; for we have seen it control government, dictate legislation, and dominate executives and courts. We feel that our people are safe only in the fields of free individual endeavor where American genius and initiative are not guided by a few men, as in recent years, but made rich by the activities of a multitude, as in days now almost forgotten. We will not consent that an ungovernable giant should be reared to full stature in the very household of the Government itself."

CHAPTER CXIX.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND THE MEXICAN TROUBLES.

The European War: The Problems It Presents.—What It Brings to the Country.—The Hyphenated Americans.—A Better Understanding.—The Mexican Troubles.—Snares and Pitfalls.—The Instability of That Government.—Intervention Necessary.—The Call of Troops to the Border.—Clashes Between Carranza's Troops and Americans.—Commission Appointed by Both Governments.

To deal with the European War from a historical standpoint would necessitate much more space than can be allotted in a history of the United States which is as brief as is this. To put into this history the relations of the United States with the Great War would require no less than nine volumes, none smaller than these. There are many phases of the war that directly affect this country, morally, economically, and politically. There would be a difference of opinion as to the relative importance of the happenings. The war after the first stunning blow brought a reaction and gave this country an impetus in industry and finance that spelled great prosperity. There was a great demand for labor and the supply especially in the unskilled fields was not sufficient to meet the demands. This was due in the main to the return of many reservists to their fatherlands. Large loans were made to the warring countries, supplies in large quantities went to them also and much of the money loaned by capital in this country stayed at home to pay for the exports. Not only were there big shipments to these countries, but the neutral countries who had looked to England, France and Germany for importations now had to turn to us and make their demands upon our industries. There was of course increased consumption at home due to the better times. The attitude of the country from the strong pro-ally who thought the country should

enter the war to the pro-Germans who felt that this country should enter the lists on the side of Germany, gave the president, and the thoughtful, neutral minded people much concern. There grew a feeling also that America did not come first with many of its naturalized citizens. Bitterness of feeling was everywhere, but out of it all came a stronger feeling for America, the propaganda of Americanism began to be preached everywhere. At a remarkable gathering in Philadelphia of citizens who were newly naturalized, the president made a wonderfully eloquent address. It echoed throughout the country and helped to cement and renew patriotism which had been stirred and deepened through the length and breadth of the land. The spirit everywhere was similar to the kind generated by revivalist meetings excepting that it was more lasting and on a firmer basis.

The unexampled European conflict came upon the people of America wholly by surprise. The thousands of our citizens who were in Europe on business or in pursuit of pleasure were treated with scant courtesy by all the belligerents during the first weeks of mobilization and battle, and our travelers, whatever their credit at home, were nearly everywhere reduced to immediate want. The shock to the American pride was great, and the burden of national anxiety fell almost entirely upon the president, the nation seemingly trusting all to his calmness of judgment. He at once issued a proclamation of strict neutrality, declaring the long established friendship of the United States for all the great nations at war, and solemnly urging the citizens of the United States individually to refrain, so far as humanly possible, from argument touching the terrible events that were coming thick and fast upon the whole world.

The efforts of the belligerents to cut off one another's supplies of food and munitions of war at once abolished all preceding international law, destroyed the freedom of the high seas, and invaded the most sacred rights of neutral nations. Great Britain peremptorily widened its restrictions on con-

traband goods, and was able to prevent the entrance of food into any German port. "If England wants to starve us," replied the Germans, "we can play the same game. We can blockade her with our submarines and torpedo every English or Allied ship that nears any harbor in Great Britain or the Mediterranean. If submarine warfare on merchantmen without warning and search be 'inhuman,' so is the ominous attempt to starve a great nation, non-combatants and all." Following hard upon the British note of February 2, 1915, declaring contraband all foodstuffs shipped to Germany, "even if intended for civilians," that country replied by torpedoing five merchant ships of the Allies in the English Channel and the Irish Sea. "Every enemy-merchantman found in this war-zone will be destroyed, even if it is impossible to avert dangers which threaten the crew and passengers," was the German official announcement, and, "in consequence of the misuse of neutral flags, it cannot always be avoided that attacks meant for the enemy endanger neutral ships." To this Great Britain protested: "We are made the object of a kind of warfare never before practiced by a civilized state—the scuttling of merchant-ships without search or parley."

The United States earnestly protested to both belligerents, warning them that they were selfishly making their own kind of international law, and holding that such acts must seriously disturb the diplomatic relations of the great republic with nearly all Europe. The mining of the high seas, also, was looked upon as a piratical act.

We shall assemble here the principal outrages upon American shipping, although Great Britain on her part at times interned as many as 200 of our vessels in one harbor for arbitrary search or seizure, requisitioned our merchantmen, and curtly declined to recede from an almost intolerable position. It may be seen that there fell upon the United States a danger of the necessary choice as to which of the great belligerents it might be compelled to fight:

January 21, 1915, the American steamer Wil-

liam P. Frye, loaded with wheat for Europe, was attacked and sunk in the Pacific Ocean by a German cruiser. The crew were taken prisoners, but when the German vessel found itself in extreme peril, it sought refuge at Newport News, on the Atlantic coast, was interned, and its American prisoners were released as a matter of course. Germany admitted liability, and offered to pay value fixed by a German prize court. Not till late in August, 1915, was this incident closed, Germany agreeing to the immediate reference of certain matters affecting national pride to The Hague Peace Tribunal.

February 19, 1915, the American steamer Evelyn was destroyed by a German mine. Germany declared the ship was off the prescribed course and had struck the mine through that neglect. Agreed to by America.

February 22, 1915, the American steamer Carib was sunk by a German mine and three Americans lost. Incident closed by same agreement.

March 28, 1915, the British steamer Falabia was sunk by a German mine and 112 lives were lost, including one American. Germany declared that the Falabia tried to escape and call aid, thus violating war rules. The views of the United States were set forth later in the Lusitania notes.

April 3, 1915, the American steamer Greenbriar was sunk by a German submarine. Germany declared it was a regrettable error. The incident, in "closing diplomatically," seemed to follow the lines accepted in the Frye affair.

April 28, 1915, the American steamer Cushing was bombarded in the North Sea by a German aeroplane. Germany answered that no aviator had reported the attack, and hence it disclaimed liability. This question was also taken up in President Wilson's Lusitania notes.

May 7, 1915, the great British steamship Lusitania, from New York to Liverpool, was attacked without warning by a German submarine while approaching the Irish coast. The ship sank within fifteen minutes and the lives of 1,276 non-combatants, 112 of them American men, women and children,

were sacrificed. This act of war deeply stirred the American nation from coast to coast, for, to the general surprise of all other nations, Germany would not disclaim the deed. Its justification was based on the declaration that the *Lusitania* carried concealed guns and gunners, Canadian troops, and munitions of war, including 5,200 cases of ammunition; that passengers were warned by advertisements printed at the direction of the German embassy; and that, if the great ship had not been destroyed, its cargoes would have been used to kill German soldiers. May 13th, 1915, President Wilson addressed his first *Lusitania* note to Germany: "American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas. * * * The American Government must hold the Imperial Government to a strict accountability for any invasion of these rights, intentional or accidental. * * * The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of the sacred duty of maintaining the right of the United States and its citizens, and of safe-guarding their free exercise and enjoyment." The tone of the German reply was wholly unsatisfactory, calling out President Wilson's second *Lusitania* note, dated June 9, 1915. "The Government of the United States deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles (the treaties and law of nations and of humanity) into practice in respect of the safe-guarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurance that this will be done." The American Government declared definitely that the *Lusitania* did not carry the cannon, the Canadian soldiers, or the munitions charged by Germany. To this Germany replied, July 9, 1915: "In particular, the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board." July 21, 1915, President Wilson reiterated the terms of his former notes, using still more solemn language of warning.

"Friendship itself prompts the United States to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights (of humanity) must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

May 25, 1915, the United States steamer *Nebraskan* was destroyed by a German submarine. Germany called it an unfortunate error, because the ship carried no neutral marks, and offered reparation—kind and amount not stated.

Just before the third *Lusitania* declaration by America, William J. Bryan, Secretary of State, refused to longer uphold the firm stand of the president, and resigned from the American cabinet.

The German belligerents manifested increasing irritation concerning the manufacture of munitions of war on a gigantic scale in America, and in July, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Empire addressed a solemn protest to the United States, couched in President Wilson's own firm tone. To this the president replied with a categorical denial of Austria-Germany's request, but declared our desire to keep up diplomatic relations.

On August 19, the British liner *Arabic* was sunk without warning off the Irish coast, again exposing a large number of non-combatants, men and women, to the horrors of a deliberate shipwreck, and killing or maiming something like a dozen of the American passengers bent on returning home, some of them, as in the case of the *Lusitania's* passengers, being people of acknowledged prominence in American professional, business or social affairs.

After a crisis of several days, the Imperial Government gave the United States to understand that full satisfaction would be given and reparation made.

On August 21, 1915, Great Britain declared cotton absolutely contraband of war.

On March 18th, 1915, an arrangement was made between Great Britain, Germany and Austria by which representatives of this country were to inspect and report upon alien prison camps and attend to

distribution of supplies sent to prisoners. Such an arrangement was also made between Russia and France and Germany and Austria later. Charges and counter charges of the belligerent nations were presented at Washington daily. But most important and serious were this country's contentions due to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and of other ships on which were Americans. The president in a series of strong notes which put the position of this country in plain and unmistakable language warned Germany that her actions appeared to be deliberately unfriendly and any further act of similar nature would be so construed. He also objected for humanity's sake to Germany's method of sinking unarmed ships without warning and without provision for saving noncombatants. The probability of war between this country and the central powers seemed almost certain, but Germany gave in to the demands of this country and gave up her submarine policy. Friction remained, however, as to settlements and also by the apparent break, at times, by Germany and Austria when undersea ships would sink some merchant vessel.

Efforts were being made throughout the country to prevent the exportation of arms to the warring nations. Austria protested to the American ambassador at Vienna against the exportation of arms to England, France and Russia, claiming that such exportations were violations of neutrality since no such shipments could be made to Austria. Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador at Washington, also protested. But America denied any violation and showed that both Austria and Germany had made shipments of war munitions to Great Britain during the Boer War.

At the same time there was also misunderstanding and friction between this country and Great Britain over the right of search. The United States also claimed that the blockade of the allies could not cover shipments by this country to neutral ports within the zone of blockade. Great Britain had also declared cotton as contraband. That country claimed

that no rights of neutrals would be violated, that the allies would adhere strictly to all international rules and the rules of war. The United States contended that the blockade of the allies was "illegal, ineffective and indefensible." The entente allies contemplated a virtual extension of the blockade that might have caused serious trouble. England proposed to include within the blockade European neutrals by rigid application of the "ultimate destination" doctrine. But sentiment even in the other warring nations, as well as in England, was against it and so it was dropped. The Pope's efforts at this time to bring about an agreement between the warring nations was not successful.

Pro-German activity throughout the United States was disclosed throughout the year. It brought about the recall of Dr. Dumba, the Austrian ambassador, requested by this country; and also in the recall of Captains Boy-Ed and Von Papen, military and naval attaches. Several conspirators were sentenced to serve prison sentences.

The war brought lessons also of the value of preparedness. There was, however, a difference of opinion throughout the country as to its value. There were those who saw in the war the lesson of not being prepared and the necessity of this country having an armament on water and land second to none in effectiveness. There were differences of opinion as to just how powerful this should be; some urged the necessity of compulsory military service. The argument of the preparedness advocates was that only by being powerful could we avoid war. It resulted in legislation which will bring a stronger army and a navy second only to England. The peace advocates saw in the war the result of too much preparedness, too much armament. Their plea is that war will surely come if we are over supplied with men and guns and ships. War could never come through international disarmament and we should preach and show the way.

The Mexican situation occupied the constant attention and presented new phases and entanglements almost daily. For the third time since he assumed

office the president appeared before Congress on August 27th, 1913, and read a message explaining the Mexican situation and his own policy. He held that we should look primarily to the welfare of a neighboring country with which our own relations for a long time have been those of chief friend and adviser. He did not expect the establishment of peace and order through the regime then in the City of Mexico. Mr. Lind's mission had seemingly failed. He expected to take such steps as would remove all possibilities of friction between the two countries and make less the likelihood and the necessity of armed intervention. . . . High handed action, however, on the part of Huerta could not be ignored. The latter caused the arrest of 110 members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies and practically declared himself dictator. The Constitutionals, under Carranza, were carrying on a successful revolt. Early in 1914 Huerta defaulted on the Mexican debt, foreign and domestic, failing to pay the interest on the same. In April, 1914, our president ordered a great naval force to assemble before Tampico. A few days earlier several American bluejackets had been arrested and detained by Mexican soldiers who were in control at Tampico. They were immediately released and apologies were offered by the Mexican authorities. Following the usual custom among nations, Admiral Mayo demanded a salute of twenty-one guns in honor of the American flag, which through its uniformed forces had been treated with indignity by Mexico. General Huerta and his governmental and military chiefs decided to refuse the salute, but offered one of five guns. With the approval of Congress, orders were given for the navy to occupy Vera Cruz. The Mexicans opposed the landing of the marines, resulting in the death of four and in the wounding of twenty. There was a large loss of life on the part of the Mexicans. Conditions were such that a state of war existed between the two countries. By a policy of non-interference and in other ways the administration was showing its sympathy with the revolutionary forces.

At the earnest behest of the representatives of

Argentina, Brazil and Chile (the A. B. C. representatives), mediation and conference between authorized delegates of the two countries and the mediators was arranged. The situation in which the United States found itself was a strange one. From a declared policy of non-interference to one of forcible occupation of another country's chief port is quite a step. This, too, because of a demand for the amende honorable from a ruler whom we would not recognize. Difficulties beset Huerta on every hand. Unable to obtain money, with the Constitutionalists drawing closer the net, he made a farewell address to the Chamber of Deputies and departed, boarding a ship which was waiting for him.

But with Carranza coming into power other difficulties and troubles arose for Mexico. Villa was a thorn, Zapata was another. With Huerta gone there was no longer a community of interests. Villa revolted, while Zapata had not even made a pretense of ceasing his opposition. Meantime, the president, upon the reports of his special representatives, Messrs. Fuller and Silliman, decided that the time had come for the evacuation of Vera Cruz and on October 10th the American troops under General Funston left that city. There was a strong demand throughout the United States for intervention. Americans were being killed and others had suffered losses of property. It was indeed a time of trial and the newspapers throughout the country were declaiming against the lack of action on the part of the administration. To make matters worse, for the time being, for the policy to which the president had bound himself, Villa was losing ground and found himself compelled to resort to outlaw warfare. Conditions were on tenter hooks for the entire year of 1915 and the early part of 1916. Feeling against Americans ran high in Mexico and there was a strong feeling that Villa would resort to the killing and despoiling of Americans in order to gather caste.

Border troubles did culminate in an attack upon Columbus, New Mexico, by Villa and a band of desperadoes. Carranza permitted United States forces to enter Mexico in pursuit of Villa. In March, the

president appealed to the country for aid in thwarting a conspiracy which had for its purpose war between Mexico and this country. In a statement issued from the White House he charged that a campaign of falsehood had been carried on through the newspapers of the country, "for the purpose of bringing intervention by the United States in the interest of certain Americans who were owners of Mexican property. In April, 1916, war seemed a certainty between the two countries. Carranzistas attacked a party of American troops and Carranza demanded the withdrawal of the American army. Trouble, however, was averted for the time being through a conference between General Obregon and Major General Hugh L. Scott. The Mexican de facto government sent another sharp note to Washington in May, again demanding the withdrawal of United States troops. But the president refused to withdraw until Villa had been caught or until such time as the Carranza government could give satisfactory proof that it could cope with the situation. On June 21st a battle took place between a small number of Americans numbering 84 and about 800 Mexicans, who overwhelmed the smaller force, killing 13 and making prisoners of 23. Responsibility for this attack was assumed by Carranza. The American government in a sharp note demanded the release of the prisoners. The prisoners were returned on June 28th. The president called for the militia of several states to report to the border in accordance with the power centered at Washington through the new law governing state militia, which took effect in July.

A commission of representatives of both countries was appointed by President Wilson and Carranza, which met at New London, Conn., to find a peaceful solution to the problems which have presented themselves. In the meantime there is inaction on the border and some of the troops have been sent home.

CHAPTER CXX.

INDUSTRIAL ADJUSTMENTS AND UNREST 1913-1916.

Decisions of the United States Supreme Court.—Railroads Demand Increase in Rates.—Strikes and Unemployment Everywhere.—Strike in West Virginia.—In Michigan.—In Colorado.—The Industrial Relations Commission.—Opinions and Reports.—The Rockefeller Foundation.—The Threatening Railroad Strike in 1913.—In 1916.—Legislation in September, 1916, for the Eight Hour Day.—Strike Called Off.

Aside from the importance of such changes as the new tariff bill, the Federal Reserve bill and the Trade Commission and anti-trust laws taken up by Congress and treated in this chapter, there were other influences brought to bear on industry, business and finance, as well as on the country in general. Decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the European War, the general reaction from the period of depression, made the years 1915 and 1916 years of prosperity. In the latter part of 1913 the Supreme Court handed down the decision in the famous Minnesota rate cases which gave states the right to fix railroad rates within state territory. For instance, the Chicago & Northwestern was governed by the rules of the state of Illinois in shipments from Chicago to Zion City, Illinois, but by Interstate Commerce Commission in shipments from Chicago to Kenosha, Wisconsin, a few miles from Zion City and just over the state line. This decision brought up considerable discussion and there was a growing sentiment that there should be national control over all railroads.

The railroads, in November, 1913, asked for permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission to increase rates in the eastern and central sections. Louis D. Brandeis was retained by the commission as its counsel to examine the evidence in favor of these higher rates which was brought forward by the roads. It was not until August, 1914, that the

Interstate Commerce Commission handed down its decision on this application, giving the requested increase to points between Pittsburgh and the Mississippi, with some exceptions, but refusing such increase to points east of Pittsburgh. The railroads almost immediately requested a rehearing. To justify this request for a rehearing they showed figures on thirty-five railroad systems in the territory involved which showed a decrease for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1914, in gross revenues of \$44,700,000 and increase in operating expenses of \$23,300,000.

The same year another important decision was handed down by the Supreme Court in reference to price fixing. The case came up through a manufacturer selling a patented tonic food with the stipulation that the retailer should not sell below one dollar. The retailer persisted in selling below that price. The Supreme Court ruled that the seller could make any price he chose, that even though the article was patented, the selling price is a matter for the retailer to fix.

Trouble loomed large in West Virginia in connection with strikes. A committee was appointed by the United States Senate which investigated conditions in the bituminous coal fields of that state. There was a bitter strike in Paterson, New Jersey, among the silk workers, which lasted for more than five months. Other big strikes took place in the copper mines of Michigan and in the coal fields of Colorado. The former began in July, 1913, the men claiming the right to organize as members of the Western Federation of Miners and for a standard minimum wage. Efforts had been made to arbitrate. Seventy-two persons had lost their lives at a largely attended popular gathering at a false alarm of fire, and this made the situation even more tense. In the Colorado coal fields the strike had begun in September, 1913, and lives had been lost in skirmishes between the militia and armed strikers. The state showed inability to cope with the situation and United States troops were sent to the scene of the

trouble. There was immediate disarmament of both strike breakers and strikers. The president's proposal of a tentative basis for the adjustment of this strike, based upon reports to him of two of his representatives, was agreed to by the mine owners only as to four provisions, but was rejected as far as the most important points were involved. Later a commission appointed by the president to study the situation rendered its report. It found that four hundred indictments had been returned in that state, all against strikers. A "festering sore" had been left on public opinion and also that in some cases the men had suffered great injustice. It was recommended that the Federal Trade Commission study the economic side of coal mining with a view to preventing waste and putting the industry on a basis of giving maximum steady employment and safety.

There were strikes throughout the country, great unrest prevailed and unemployment was a big problem in 1913-1914. It resulted in the appointment of a commission on Industrial Relations, of which Frank P. Walsh of Missouri was made chairman. This body called many witnesses before it, with the idea of getting the thought of the country upon the problem before it. It makes exceedingly interesting history to note what some of these men have to say. They represent the various phases of life in the community.

Roger W. Babson attributed the unrest to "absentee control of industries." Samuel Untermyer denounced the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Ida Tarbell advocated scientific management and co-operation with employees. Daniel Guggenheim declared that the state and the rich must improve labor conditions. Edward J. Berwind, the coal operator, told of welfare work in thirty-five mining camps. George W. Perkins suggested co-operation with federal regulation. Henry Ford said "we will guarantee to take every man from Sing Sing and make a man of him." Samuel Gompers declared the unrest and discontent were forerunners of reform. Louis D. Brandeis compared political liberties

and industrial absolutism—the remedy to him was industrial democracy. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., testified as to the millions given by his father and him. Dr. Charles W. Eliot advocated that labor have a compelling voice in a corporation's affairs and he denounced boycotts and blacklists. John Hays Hammond denounced the tactics of some labor leaders; he favored an American wage standard and restriction of immigration. John R. Lawson, Colorado strike leader, criticised the testimony of Rockefeller, Jr., and declared that millions withheld from the workers were given away in "showy generosity." Amos Pinchot attacked the Associated Press and charity foundations. John Mitchell opposed collective bargaining which, to his mind, put the worker more completely in the power of the employer. J. P. Morgan had no opinions to offer nor did he think directors of large corporations responsible for labor troubles. Morris Hillquit declared the Rockefeller Foundations as "business enterprises at bottom." Andrew Carnegie testified and gave a resume of his relations with labor, stating that with the exception of one dispute which involved contract breaking on the part of the men he had never found a determined effort to commit wrong on the part of labor. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., said that he had made public gifts of \$250,000,000. He stoutly defended his motives in creating the Rockefeller Foundation. He conceded labor's right to organize.

Other men testified. The final reports of this commission were divided into three parts, there being a division of opinion as to the findings. The men representing the public, the employees and the employers, each group gave its findings.

The Commons report for the public found as follows:

"The greatest cause of industrial unrest is the breakdown of the labor laws and the distrust of our municipal, state and national governments." The report outlines a plan for remedying conditions through the institution of a permanent Industrial Commission and Advisory Council. The employees'

side was represented in the Manly report which, summarized, is as follows.

1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
2. Unemployment and the denial of opportunity to earn a living.
3. Denial of justice, in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of the law.
4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations. Remedies are also suggested in the report.

The employers' side was presented in the Weinstock report. It dissents from the recommendation that the secondary boycott should be legalized, finds that the employees have many just grievances and are thoroughly justified in organizing. It explains the objections employers have in dealing with organized labor, as follows: Sympathetic strikes, jurisdictional disputes, labor union politics, contract breaking, restriction of output, prohibition of the use of nonunion made tools and materials, closed shop, contests for supremacy between rival labor unions, acts of violence against non-union workers and the property of employers, and apprenticeship rules. The commission investigated many strikes and reported its findings.

In connection with this it may be well to speak of the Rockefeller Foundation, which was the subject of much attack at the hearing of the Commission on Industrial Relations. The Foundation is an indication of the time, the demand for efficiency and study in philanthropy as in other undertakings. The report of the Foundation is that it has extended its influence to 1,000,000,000 people in two years, spending \$6,986,984.45 in the twelve months up to December 28th, 1915. The most important work of the Foundation was against the hook-worm, the second most important, war relief. The General Education Board donated \$375,000 to four of the smaller colleges. There was of course other work the Foundation did and other donations were made through the General Education Board and through the Foundation itself. Contributions were made of \$1,500,000 to

Johns Hopkins University and several large gifts were made to Cornell Medical College.

At a conference held on July 14th, 1913, at the White House, the threat of a great railroad strike was the subject of discussion. The brotherhoods of conductors and trainmen on the eastern railroads had demanded a new scale of increased wages and the railroads had declined to negotiate the question. The men had already voted overwhelmingly for a strike. The leaders of the workers were ready to arbitrate under the provisions of the law known as the Erdman Act, but the railroads refused to do so, claiming that the Erdman measure was defective in many ways. This contention on the part of the railroads was true and steps to remedy it had already been taken in the Senate at the earnest behest of civic organizations, labor leaders and railroad presidents. The House rushed the same measure through. The members of the new Federal Board of Mediation appointed through this act in its revised form were William L. Chamber, Martin Knapp and G. W. W. Hanger.

In November, 1913, this arbitration board awarded seven per cent increase to the railroad men as against the 21 per cent that they had asked for. The increase was based on the added cost of living as against 1910.

That the measure was not a panacea was proven three years later, in 1916, when trouble again came up between the railroads and the brotherhoods. The president again tried to settle the difficulties when the time of the strike seemed but a day or so away and when arbitration seemed hopeless. This time it developed that the railroad managers desired arbitration but that the men did not. The men were willing to listen to the compromise the president suggested—an eight hour day without time and one-half for overtime, both of which they had demanded. The managers, however, contended that they could not afford to pay for eight hours on a ten hour basis. They made a strong point of their insistence of the principles of arbitration.

Unable to get the railroads to agree to the

compromise and with the strike called for Monday, September 4th, the president brought a proposed measure dealing with an eight hour standard work day for employees on common carriers before Congress. Congress passed it almost at once. Upon the passage by both houses the brotherhoods called off the strike. The president signed the bill almost at once.

There were two other bills also proposed at the same time to cover this question. One called for a board of mediation and conciliation to which employers and employees of common carriers must bring their differences. If no adjustment can be reached, the said board must endeavor to induce the parties to submit the controversy to arbitration. If the two sides or either side do not wish to submit the question to arbitration, the matter shall be referred to a board of investigation, it being unlawful for the employer or employe to declare a strike in the meantime. The time for such investigation to be limited. The other bill provided for United States operation of common carriers in case of military need and the right to draft into the service of the United States such persons as may be necessary.

CHAPTER CXXI.

PASSING EVENTS, 1913-1914.

The Toll Question.—Treaty with Colombia.—The Passage of the First Ship Through the Panama Canal.—Professor Moore Resigns.—Nobel Peace Prize to Senator Root.—Mrs. Woodrow Wilson Dies.—Japan Sends Another Message in Reference to California Situation.—Ex-President Roosevelt Sues a Michigan Editor.—Another Attempt to Pass an Immigration Bill with a Literacy Clause.—Secretary Bryan's Peace Treaties.—One Hundred Years of Peace with England.—Colonel Goethals Made First Governor of the Canal Zone.—Colonel Gorgas Made Surgeon General.

The question of canal tolls again came up at this time. England claimed that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty declared that this government was to give equal treatment to the ships of all countries in the canal. That country now claimed that to allow United States coastwise ships to use the canal without paying tolls was to violate that treaty. There was a strong feeling throughout the country that England was playing small politics in its insistence upon the understanding of the treaty and doing it for the benefit of railroad and shipping interests of Canada primarily, even though there was a feeling at the same time throughout the United States that coastwise ships should not be exempt and that the toll should be on foreign as well as domestic shipping. But England's insistence upon a point that was purely internal made many feel and hold a natural resentment. There was, however, a feeling, too, that since we had signed such a treaty we must comply with its terms. Congress passed a bill which put a toll on all ships. This settled the question, but it left considerable ill-will against Great Britain.

In the belief that the canal should be opened in an atmosphere of good-will a treaty was made with Colombia by which the United States agreed to pay that country \$25,000,000 and also to give it certain

rights in the use of the canal for any damages and any grievances that country may have had through our support of Panama at the time of its secession.

In August, 1914, the Cristobal made an initial trip through the Panama Canal. Thirteen hundred seventeen ocean going vessels passed through the canal the first year, the receipts from tolls aggregating \$5,216,149.26. During the first year the canal was closed for many months because of slides of the unsettled earth.

Professor John Bassett Moore resigned as counselor of the State Department, the Hon. Robert Lansing taking his place. Senator William J. Stone, Missouri, at about the same time became chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, left vacant by the death of Senator Bacon of Georgia.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize was made to Senator Elihu Root for the year 1910. The prize was not announced until the end of the year 1913. The report of the Norwegian Committee explained the selection of Mr. Root chiefly on the ground of his work in the pacification of the Philippines and Cuba and his handling of the American-Japanese dispute over California.

On August 6, 1914, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, the president's wife, died. It was a great affliction to the president and it brought a high test of his character, wisdom and moral power. But the compelling force of public duties, unusually pressing at this time, sustained and even helped him greatly.

Japan had prepared another note on the California situation. It defended the position taken by that government that the land ownership bill violates the Japanese-American treaty. The special arbitration treaty with that government, which would have expired by limitation in July, was renewed on June 28th. Despite the bellicose attitude of jingoes in both countries both governments had maintained an even and mild tone throughout the dispute.

Ex-President Roosevelt had been the subject of malicious and offensive rumors and slander as to his supposed excessive drinking and profanity. A Michi-

gan country editor had given voice to these charges with a persistency worthy a better cause. It was one tangible definite place to strike at these rumors, which cropped up everywhere and were circulated by men who hated the colonel. It happens that Colonel Roosevelt is extremely temperate in every way. The ex-president decided that the best way to meet these charges and put a stop to them was to bring a suit for libel. This he did. The Michigan editor and his counsel decided that they could not go on with the case for lack of evidence and in view of the convincing character of the testimony on behalf of the colonel, the latter's vindication was complete, and he generously waived all damages. A little later in the year the colonel left for South America on a hunting and exploring expedition. He visited a number of the South American countries and was given a great welcome everywhere, cementing the friendships between those nations and this country, whose unofficial representative he was.

Another fight was made this year for the passage of a bill including the literacy test for immigrants. The measure passed both houses and came before the president. The latter held a hearing on the measure in January, 1915. There were mass meetings held throughout the country against the measure. The bill was vetoed because of the literacy test clause and also because it did not grant asylum for political offenders. An attempt to pass the measure over the president's veto was unsuccessful.

Secretary Bryan in the meantime had been working toward a better understanding between America and other countries. In the main his peace plan called for investigation and deliberation before any acts of hostility. With the signing of the treaty between the United States and Paraguay it brought the number of countries with whom such a treaty had been signed to twenty-eight. Thirty-nine countries had been invited to make such a treaty.

In May, 1914, a treaty with Nicaragua had been signed which called for the payment to that country of \$3,000,000 to be used on public works and educa-

tion in return for the exclusive right to construct an interoceanic canal across that country and to use the Gulf of Fonseca as a naval base.

Secretary Bryan's peace plans were given the importance and prominence they deserved when on September 15th the ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Spain, and the minister of China met with the secretary at the State Department and affixed signatures to peace treaties providing for ample investigation of questions of difference arising and for submission to impartial inquiry. Mr. Bryan's idea is to treat international disagreements in other than a military way.

One hundred years of peace between Great Britain and the United States was celebrated throughout the summer in both countries. One Anglo-American Exposition was held in London and there were other celebrations throughout both countries. The exhibit at London was later transferred to the Panama Exposition.

Colonel Goethals was named first governor of the Canal Zone and was promoted to be a major-general. At the same time Dr. Gorgas, through whose magnificent efforts at sanitation much of the success of the canal was due, was promoted, with the rank of brigadier-general, to be surgeon-general of the army.

CHAPTER CXXII.

PASSING EVENTS, 1915-1916.

The Opening of the Panama Exposition.—The Seamen's Bill.—Postal Savings Bank Report.—Brandeis Appointed to Supreme Court.—Prohibition.—Woman Suffrage.—The Republican Party Nominates Charles Evens Hughes for President.—Democratic Party Renominates the President.—Child Labor Bill.—Self-government for the Philippines.—Electoral Vote.—Popular Vote and Maps.—Anti-strike Bill.—Reports of Departments.—The President's Note to the Belligerent States.

Responding to the touch of a telegraph key by the president the gates of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition swung open at noon February 20th, 1915.

The formal report on the Seamen's bill, long disputed, which abolished arrest and imprisonment for desertion and which had for its purpose safety at sea, was submitted to Congress February 23rd, 1915. On March 4th the president signed the measure, but all the provisions in the measure did not go into effect until fifteen months later.

The famous libel suit of William Barnes, Jr., of New York, against Colonel Roosevelt began in Syracuse, New York, in April, 1915, and resulted in a complete failure for Barnes to prove his claim that he was libeled. A mass of testimony was brought forward, the main interest of which was the disclosure of politics of ten and fifteen years before.

Nine hundred and eighty-one persons were drowned in July, 1915, when the Eastland capsized in the Chicago river. Over 2,400 had boarded the boat, the vessel having a supposed capacity of 2,500. The ship was about to leave the wharf, the occasion being an excursion of the Western Electric Company. The ship rolled over on its side in twenty-five feet of water and within five minutes of the time it began to list. Indictments followed as a matter of course, but the blame could not be placed upon anyone.

The Postal Savings Bank showed an increase of \$2,150,000 in October, 1915. On October 31st the deposits aggregated \$71,500,000 for 552,000 depositors. About 58 per cent of the total number of depositors were born outside of the United States.

President Wilson announced his engagement to Mrs. Norman Galt on October 6th, 1915. The wedding took place on the evening of December 18, 1915.

There were several resignations from the cabinet. William J. Bryan resigned as secretary of state on June 8th, because he could not agree with the president as to the notes sent to Germany, which, in his belief, were leading to war. He believed in peace and arbitration so thoroughly that he felt it incumbent upon himself to give up the secretaryship. Robert Lansing was made secretary of state. Secretary Garrison of the War Department resigned because of a disagreement between the executive and himself as to methods of increasing the army. Newton D. Baker was made secretary of war. In the meantime Attorney-General McReynolds had been appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and Thomas Watt Gregory, special assistant, was appointed in his place.

A Philippine Independence bill was recommended to the House on April 7th, 1916. It had already passed the Senate, including the Clarke amendment, to withdraw sovereignty within four years and empowering the president to take steps to institute a free and independent government. Great opposition developed in the House and the bill was defeated. It did pass a measure that the intention was to grant ultimate independence to the islands, but fixing no time for it.

James J. Hill, foremost railway man in the country, died May 29th, 1916, aged 77 years. He was succeeded by his son, Louis J. Hill, who had been well trained for that position.

The appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court early in 1916 was received by the country at large with general approval. One of the keen thinkers of the country, he believed absolutely

in industrial justice. The appointment was held up in the Senate, much opposition developing. Confirmation was delayed for many weeks. He was confirmed, however, although almost solidly opposed by the Republican senators.

Prohibition has become an important political factor. The Prohibition party has not gained any appreciable strength, but in many states the question of prohibition has become so vital that the old parties have taken definite stands on the question. In 1915 the government's revenue from the tax on alcoholic liquors had been cut \$2,000,000. Nine more states adopted prohibition in 1916. The decrease in revenue it is estimated for 1916 will be close to \$5,000,000. It is predicted that it is only a matter of ten years when national prohibition will prevail.

President Wilson's stand that woman's suffrage was a state matter and not a national one was one with which the Woman's Suffrage organizations almost wholly disagreed. Another attempt made in January, 1915, to pass a bill in the House granting women the right to vote was defeated. Secretary Bryan declared himself in favor of universal suffrage in July of the same year. In Alabama and Connecticut equal suffrage was defeated at the elections. In Delaware progress was made; the question must be brought up in 1917. Florida rejected a resolution for it, while in Illinois the Supreme Court upheld the victory already gained. Indiana granted limited suffrage. In Iowa the measure passed both houses and was passed by the governor and will be voted on in the fall of 1916. A majority, but not the necessary two-thirds vote, was for it in Maine. Massachusetts defeated the measure at the election of 1915. In Maryland the measure is to go before the people by vote of the Legislature. Minnesota defeated the bill in the Senate. New Jersey and New York defeated the measure at the fall elections. The North Carolina House defeated the amendment and the Senate did the same in North Dakota. In Pennsylvania the popular vote was against it. South Dakota's Upper House defeated the measure for limited suffrage, but

the measures goes before the people in 1916. In Tennessee, the bill passed the House; it must still go before the next Legislature and before the people. In Oklahoma the House passed the measure; it needs the approval of the Senate to go before the people. In Texas an equal suffrage bill was reported favorably by the Lower House, but the same body defeated a constitutional amendment resolution. West Virginia will have the measure go before the people at the next election. In Wisconsin the measure failed to pass the Legislature.

A woman's party was launched in Chicago in June. More than 2,000 delegates attended. Theodore Roosevelt came out strongly for suffrage in April. The two candidates for the presidency, President Wilson and Charles Evans Hughes, came out with declarations for suffrage, the president's position being unchanged. He believed thoroughly in it, but felt just as strongly that it was a state matter. Mr. Hughes, however, took the stand that it was a national matter and he promised to do everything he could to have it passed by Congress, if elected.

At a convention held in Chicago, July, 1916, the Republican party nominated Charles Evans Hughes. The nominee, a member of the United States Supreme Court, had voiced in unmistakable language his desire not to run. It was felt, however, that he would unite both Progressives and Republicans. At St. Louis, a week later, the Democrats renominated President Wilson.

The Senate Interstate Committee ordered the Keating bill reported on April 5th, 1916. The president asked the Senate to give the bill special consideration. The bill bars products of child labor for interstate commerce. The bill had passed the House early in February, but had been held up in the Senate because of much opposition. The Senate passed the bill in August and the president signed the bill September 1st, 1916. With his signature ended a long fight for restriction of child labor.

On August 29th the President signed the bill which dissolved the Philippine Commission in charge of the Islands' affairs since their annexation and set up in its place, the Legislature of two Houses. The members of both of these Houses were to be elected by the native people. In order to give wider opportunity and desire for self-education in government, the electoral franchise was extended to include all those who spoke and wrote a native dialect. Before the passage of the bill property ownership or the ability to speak and write English or Spanish had been the requirements. The change increased the electoral vote from 250,000 to between 800,000 and 900,000. The Executive Departments, with the exception of that of Public Instruction, were also placed in the hands of the Legislature. The head of this department was to be the Vice Governor, who together with the Governor General, the members of the Supreme Court and two auditors were the only officials to be appointed by the President of the United States.

The campaign for the presidency finally narrowed down to two main issues. The interest had never been keener for the time was epochal. The slogan of the Democratic party behind Wilson was "he kept us out of war." The adherents of Hughes insisted, however, that Wilson's foreign policy had been at all times a weak one, one of ready submission to the belligerents. Because of that the European powers had committed depredations and had interfered with our rights. They contended that while it was true that Wilson had kept us out of war, it was done at the price of our national honor and the respect which this country had heretofore commanded.

The other issue was the Eight Hour Labor Bill which the Republican party claimed was a surrender to the dictation of the Railway Brotherhoods, and passed as a bait for the labor vote.

Woodrow Wilson was re-elected as President of the United States on November 7th. Not until three days after election day was it established that

the Democratic candidate was the winner. The country had shown a surprising independence of party control. Such states as California, Kansas, New Hampshire, Ohio, Utah, had given their electoral vote to Wilson. Minnesota, like California, was in doubt for several days. California was the state which decided the issue and the vote was so close as to keep the country uncertain until the 10th. Wilson carried the state by 3,773. Yet Hiram Johnson, the Governor of the state running on the Republican and Progressive ticket for United States Senator, polled a plurality of over 300,000 over the Democratic candidate.

Below are appended tables and maps showing how the country voted. The country gave 9,116,296 votes to Wilson, 8,547,474 votes to Hughes, about 750,000 votes to Benson, the Socialist candidate, and 225,101 votes to Hanly, the Prohibition candidate. The maps show the change in the political maps as shown by the last four presidential elections.

Electoral Vote 1916

States	Wilson	Hughes
Alabama	12	..
Arizona	3	..
Arkansas	9	..
California	13	..
Colorado	6	..
Connecticut .....	..	7
Delaware .....	..	3
Florida	6	..
Georgia	14	..
Idaho	4	..
Illinois .....	..	29
Indiana .....	..	15
Iowa .....	..	13
Kansas	10	..
Kentucky	13	..
Louisiana	10	..
Maine .....	..	6
Maryland	8	..
Massachusetts .....	..	18
Michigan .....	..	15

Minnesota .....	..	12
Mississippi	10	..
Missouri	18	..
Montana	4	..
Nebraska	8	..
Nevada	3	..
New Hampshire	4	..
New Jersey .....	..	14
New Mexico	3	..
New York .....	..	45
North Carolina	12	..
North Dakota	5	..
Ohio	24	..
Oklahoma	10	..
Oregon .....	..	5
Pennsylvania .....	..	38
Rhode Island .....	..	5
South Carolina	9	..
South Dakota .....	..	5
Tennessee	12	..
Texas	20	..
Utah	4	..
Vermont .....	..	4
Virginia	12	..
Washington	7	..
West Virginia .....	..	8
Wisconsin .....	..	13
Wyoming	3	..
Total	276	255

Total electoral vote	531
Necessary to choice	266

Popular Vote 1916

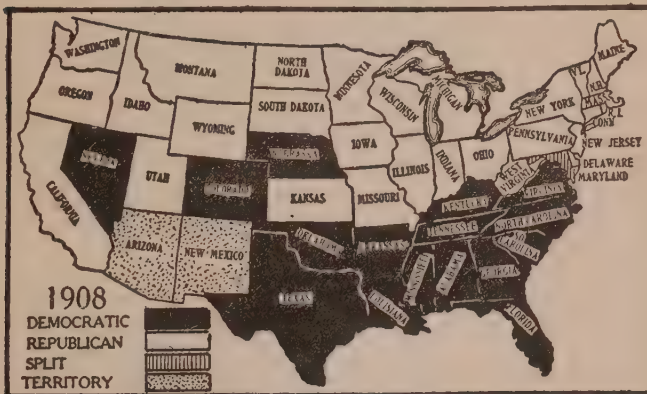
States	Wilson	Hughes
Alabama	97,778	28,662
Arizona	33,170	20,524
Arkansas	112,186	49,827
California	466,289	462,516
Colorado	178,816	102,308
Connecticut	99,786	106,514
Delaware	24,521	25,794

Florida	56,108	14,611
Georgia	125,831	11,225
Idaho	70,021	56,368
Illinois	950,081	1,152,316
Indiana	324,063	341,005
Iowa	221,699	280,449
Kansas	314,588	277,656
Kentucky	269,900	241,854
Louisiana	79,875	6,644
Maine	64,118	69,506
Maryland	138,359	117,347
Massachusetts	247,885	268,812
Michigan	286,775	339,097
Minnesota	179,152	179,544
Mississippi	80,383	4,253
Missouri	398,032	369,339
Montana	101,063	66,750
Nebraska	158,827	117,771
Nevada	17,776	12,127
New Hampshire	43,779	43,723
New Jersey	211,018	268,982
New Mexico	33,553	31,161
New York	756,880	875,510
North Carolina	168,383	120,890
North Dakota	55,271	52,651
Ohio	604,946	514,836
Oklahoma	148,123	97,233
Oregon	120,087	126,813
Pennsylvania	521,784	703,734
Rhode Island	40,394	44,858
South Carolina	61,846	1,809
South Dakota	59,191	64,261
Tennessee	153,334	116,114
Texas	285,909	64,949
Utah	84,025	54,133
Vermont	22,708	40,250
Virginia	102,824	49,359
Washington	183,388	167,244
West Virginia	140,403	143,124
Wisconsin	193,042	221,323
Wyoming	28,316	21,698
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,116,296	8,547,474



CANDIDATES: ROOSEVELT AND PARKER.

On December 5th the President sent a message to Congress advocating the Anti-Strike Bill. In brief the message renewed three suggestions: "The increase in the Interstate Commission's membership and in its facilities for performing its many duties; the provision for full public investigation and assessment of industrial disputes and the grant to the Executive of the power to control and operate the railways when necessary in time of war and in like public necessity."

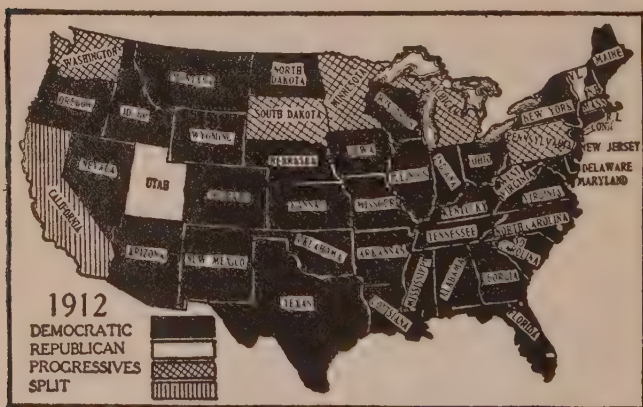


TAFT AND BRYAN.

Miss Jeanette Rankin ran for Congress as Representative-at-Large from Montana, on the Republican ticket. She was elected and was the first woman to enter Congress. Michigan, Nebraska, South Dakota and Montana became dry by constitutional amendment at the November election.

In December negotiations were practically completed with the Danish government for the purchase of the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John which were in the West Indies, for \$25,000,000. They were bought primarily for the purpose of national defense.

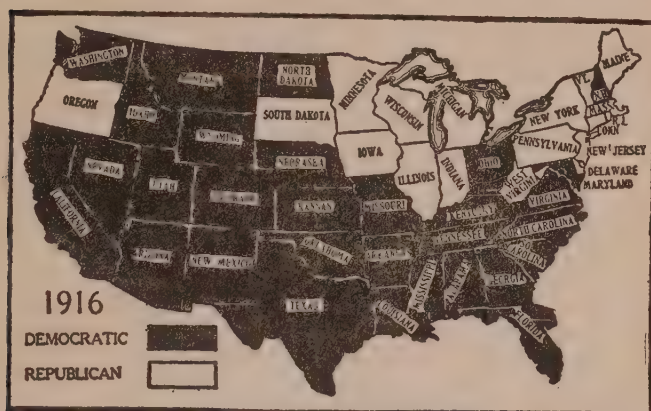
The report of Major General Hugh L. Scott, of the Department of War, at the end of 1916, spoke of the fight to be made during the coming year for universal military training. Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce drew attention to the great increase of trade; drew attention, too, to the fact that the average daily wage had increased 137.4 percent from 1854 to 1915. Yet food and other



WILSON, ROOSEVELT, AND TAFT

commodities and necessities had increased in cost as well. Secretary Lane reported that homesteaders were taking up land in rapidly increasing numbers, that the Reclamation Service was carry-

ing on construction work on twenty-four irrigation projects and that the Indian Bureau had conducted a highly successful health campaign. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, in his annual report declared that the stock of gold in the United States on November 1st was the largest any country



WILSON AND HUGHES.

ever had (\$2,700,136,976). He estimated that the Government finances will show a deficit in 1918 of \$185,000,000 because of expenditures for preparedness.

The end of the year found the President addressing a note to the belligerent nations in Europe suggesting that an early occasion be sought to call out from these nations an avowal of their respective views regarding peace terms. He did not propose peace nor mediation; the note added that the people of the United States stood ready to co-operate when the war was over, to secure the future peace of the world. The Central powers, in replying to the President's note, proposed "an immediate meeting of belligerent states at a neutral place." The reply, however, made no statement as to war aims or peace terms. The reply of the Entente Allies demanded in the main the following:

Restoration of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro and indemnities which were due them.

Evacuation of invaded territory in France, Russia and Roumania with just reparation.

Restitution of provinces and territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of the populations.

The enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks and the expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from Europe. The Allies assured the United States Government that they would be glad to co-operate with it after the war to bring about future peace.

CHAPTER CXXIII

AN EPOCHAL YEAR—1917

Germany Resumes Submarine Warfare.—German Ambassador Given His Passports.—Immigration Bill Passed Over President's Veto.—Russia Overthrows the Czar.—Preparedness on a Large Scale.—Woodrow Wilson Inaugurated.—New Congress in Session.—Turkey Severs Diplomatic Relations.—Missions From the Allied Countries Arrive.—Conscription Day.—Negroes in the North.—The I. W. W. and Pacifist Propaganda.—The Pope's Peace Message.—Reply of President Wilson.

In the last part of January the German Government declared that "From February 1st, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice" (without warning) in zones around Great Britain, France, Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean. American passenger ships would be undisturbed if they sailed once a week, bore certain markings, took a prescribed course, landed only at Falmouth, arrived on Sunday and departed on Wednesday and carried no contraband.

On February 3rd the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany on the ground that the German Government's announcement of January 31st "Withdraws the assurance given on May 4, 1916—that Germany would confine her war operations to the fighting forces of the belligerents." The German ambassador at Washington, given his passports, requested the Swiss minister, Dr. Paul Ritter, to take charge of German affairs in the United States.

President Wilson expressed his belief to other neutral nations that it would make for the peace of the world if they would all take action similar to that of the United States. The American ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, left Germany, placing the affairs of his government in the hands of the Spanish ambassador.

Other neutral nations replying to the German Government's note in relation to unrestricted submarine warfare showed varying degrees of firmness and warning; all refused to recognize the blockade as legal, but none followed the example of this government.

The German Government requested, through the Swiss minister at Washington, the opportunity to discuss matters of difference, but the United States refused to do so unless Germany first withdrew the proclamation of January 31st. In compliance with the request of the German authorities, all Americans were withdrawn from relief work in Belgium.

The Senate and House passed the Immigration Bill over the veto of the President. The literacy test was thus adopted after Presidents Cleveland, Taft and Wilson had vetoed it.

Possibly no other time in the history of the United States or in any other country staged so many important and epoch making events as did the year 1917 for this country.

Disclosures on February 28th made public at Washington showed that Zimmerman, the German Secretary of Foreign Affairs, proposed to the Mexican Government through the German ambassador at Mexico City, an alliance with Mexico in event of war between Germany and the United States; Mexico to receive financial support and to be compensated with New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The note also suggested that Japan be invited to adhere to the plan.

In March, the Russian Duma met, in defiance of the Czar's decree of dissolution. Three days later the Czar abdicated for himself and his son in favor of his brother Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. The Grand Duke, however, renounced his right to the throne, until such time as a constituent assembly, on a basis of universal suffrage, should have established a form of government. A new cabinet was formed in Russia and so "almost without bloodshed, did Russia turn from a despotic monarchy to

what will probably be a democratic form of government." The Foreign Minister of the new government, Paul Milyukoff, announced that the new regime was resolved to fight side by side with its allies.

March saw a bill passed authorizing and empowering the President to arm merchant ships. A measure was also passed forbidding the interstate shipment of liquors to such states as prohibit the sale and manufacture of such liquors.

The Naval Bill passed by both houses on March 4th carried appropriations of \$535,000,000 and authorized a bond issue of \$150,000,000 to hasten naval construction and the building of thirty-eight new submarines.

The Senate of the Sixty-fifth Congress met in special session on March 5th, with sixteen new members.

On March 5th Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated for his second term. The Sixty-fifth Congress met in extraordinary session on April 2nd. Champ Clark was re-elected speaker by a vote of 217 to 205. The President addressed both Houses, meeting in joint session and advised that "the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be nothing less than war against the government and the people of the United States." He recommended an immediate addition of 500,000 men to the army, chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, with subsequent increments of equal force. The Senate on April 4th and the House on April 6th passed resolutions declaring that a state of war existed with Germany.

In the middle of April both houses passed a bill authorizing the loan of \$7,000,000,000 bond and note issue, the biggest war loan ever attempted by any nation. Three billion dollars of this was to be loaned to the Entente nations.

Affairs now were fast shaping themselves throughout the country for a state of war. Plans were rapidly being formulated for the raising of the large army and increasing the navy to capacity service. A Committee on Public Information was ap-

pointed by the President to serve as a Censor Board. The Council of National Defense appointed a Munition Board, and also a Committee on Food Supply and Prices. Throughout the country there grew a wide realization of the necessity of conserving resources and cutting down waste.

Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the United States on April 20th. On April 21st, the British Mission to America, of which Foreign Secretary Arthur J. Balfour was head, arrived in the United States. Three days later, the French Mission arrived. At its head were ex-Premier Viviani and Marshall Joffre. Both commissions were received with great enthusiasm by this country. It was felt that the United States could profit by the mistakes already made by its allies in its own preparations.

United States destroyers under Admiral Sims began to co-operate with the Allies in the war zone beginning May 4th. The President appointed a mission to Russia at the head of which was Elihu Root. In the meantime, Foreign Minister of Russia Milyukoff resigned and was succeeded by M. Kerensky, the strong man of Russia, and soon to become the premier.

On May 18th the President signed the Conscription Bill. The National Army was to supplement the Regular Army and the National Guard; all men between the ages of 21 and 30 inclusive, were to be registered on June 5th. From an estimated 10,000,000 registrations, the first contingent of 500,000 men was to be selected for training. The President announced that a division of regular troops (25,000) would proceed to France as soon as was practicable, under command of Major General Pershing.

On June 5th, Conscription Day, about 10,000,000 men between the ages of 21 and 30 inclusive registered for war service. Nowhere was there any report of serious trouble.

On June 15th the subscription books closed for the \$2,000,000,000 Liberty Loan. The loan was over-

subscribed by \$800,000,000; but the Secretary of the Treasury announced that only the prescribed sum would be used.

The President appointed a War Council to co-operate with the American Red Cross. The Red Cross made a strenuous campaign throughout the country for financial support and concentrated on the third week in June. The sum desired was \$100,000,000 and was easily secured.

In the meantime Congress was giving more and more power to the Executive. The Council of National Defense co-operated with the Secretaries of the Navy and the Army. Congress passed a bill authorizing the expenditure of \$600,000,000 for aerial preparedness.

The Government, too, while preparing to send men who were trained and who would be of service at the front was loaning money to the various governments. General Pershing and a large number of troops landed in Europe and were given a wonderful greeting. These American troops were to be trained for immediate entry into the field of operations.

Race riots occurred in East St. Louis, Ill., due to the importation of negroes from the South to do the work that had been done before by immigrants. Twenty-nine persons, of whom twenty-five were negroes were killed, scores were injured and three hundred houses burned to the ground. Similar race riots occurred in Chester, Pa.

Congress passed a bill which prohibited the use of any food or feeds in the production of distilled liquors and also forbade the importation of distilled liquors from foreign countries.

On Friday, July 20th, Secretary of War Baker conducted the drawing of 10,500 numbers in the lottery for the national draft. The numbers that were drawn first were those of the men who would be summoned first for military service. In this way 687,000 eligible recruits were secured.

Trouble raised by the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) throughout industrial and farm sections brought about action on the part of the

legal authorities, in many such localities. In Bisbee, Arizona, the lawless conduct of these agitators who were terrorizing all who attempted to run the copper mines, was met by equally lawless action on the part of the authorities. Without legal formality the agitators were forced to leave Bisbee and no provision was made for them elsewhere until they were taken in hand by the United States Army and given temporary quarters at Columbus, New Mexico. At Flat River, Missouri, a mob of native American laborers forced some 700 aliens to leave the lead mining districts. Their grievance was that employers were discharging Americans and putting aliens in their places at lower wage rates.

President Wilson approved the formation of a War Industries Board of seven members to have supervision of our national provisions of munitions, foods and army and navy supplies. At the head of this board he placed Frank A. Scott, the then chairman of the Munitions Board.

Plans came to a successful head for a system of indemnity insurance as arranged by the Treasury Department. This would do away with much of the pension graft, which had always been the result of previous wars.

"The whole proposition is based on the fundamental idea that the Government should, as a matter of justice and humanity, adequately protect its fighting men on land and sea and their dependent families. It aims to hearten the families of the men who go to the front and at the same time to give to our soldiers and sailors the comforting assurance that whatever may be their fate, their loved ones at home will not be left dependent upon charity. It is proposed to impose on the public treasury the obligation of indemnifying justly the men who have entered, or are about to enter, the American Army and Navy to fight in the cause of liberty. With our men on the soil of France and hundreds of thousands of others about to enter the service of their country, the question is one of justice and fairness and the plan should be as liberal as it is possible for a just and generous republic to make.

"Under the plan discussed it is suggested that provision be made for the support of dependents of soldiers and sailors by giving them an allotment out of the pay of the men; and also an allowance by the Government; that officers and men be indemnified against death or total or partial disability; that a system of rehabilitation and re-education of disabled men be inaugurated; and that the Government insure the lives of sailors and soldiers on their application at rates of premium based upon ordinary risks."

Throughout the country considerable agitation was raised by pacifists, I. W. W. and German sympathizers. This took the form of propaganda of peace. Many of these people were earnest in their desire for peace, but many took the cry of peace as a means to further lawless ends or to help the enemy. The Government felt strongly that such agitation was helping the enemy in that it discouraged conscription and patriotism. For that reason the Department of Justice took severe steps to discourage anything that had the semblance of "aiding the enemy."

In the meantime the President had taken a firm stand to have one man in absolute control of the food supply who should be known as the Food Controller and whose duties would be to hold the prices down, eliminate as far as possible all waste and intensify the growth of crops and other food. The members of Congress desired that a committee be put in charge of this important work and many of the members felt that altogether too much power was vested in the Executive. However, the bill was passed as the President desired, and Herbert C. Hoover, who had been the head of the Belgian relief work and who was also in charge of the food propaganda up to this time, was appointed by the President.

At this time race riots occurred in Texas, where colored troops stationed there for training became mutinous and killed several of the officers and citizens of Houston, Texas. They were quickly con-

trolled and the court martial was swift and summary.

The pacifists tried to assemble in Minneapolis and in some points in Wisconsin to further the ends of peace and to particularly urge from the President a statement of the things the Government of the United States was fighting for. Because of the fact that feeling was strong, that the ends desired by this body were pro-German, it was impossible for them to find a place in which they would be allowed to meet. They finally arrived in Chicago, but the Governor of Illinois refused to allow them to meet in that city. However, Mayor Thompson gave them permission and a meeting was held on Sunday, September 2nd. Even while the meeting was going on troops were being rushed from Springfield to disperse the meeting. The meeting, however, was concluded just before the troops arrived. On September 6th, federal officers raided all points where the I. W. W. and kindred organizations had their headquarters for the purpose of seeking evidence to justify a belief that both moral and material aid was being given and received from the enemy.

War missions had come to this country from almost all of the Allies. The end of August found the Japanese and the Belgian missions on our shores. August also found a peace proposal from the Pope who was then the most prominent exponent of peace. He suggested that the belligerents be brought together for the purpose of coming to an agreement. It was felt by many that the Pope would not have taken this step unless he had first sounded the Allies and the Central Powers, but it was soon realized that such could not have been the case as far as the Allies were concerned, for President Wilson replied almost immediately to the Pope's peace proposal. His reply was compressed into five words. "No Peace with Prussian Autocracy." To quote:

"The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to

carry out the plan without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children; also of the helpless poor, and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.”

The President carefully pointed out that it was his opinion that this power was not the German people, but its ruthless master. The attitude of this Government was then stated:

“Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace.”

President Wilson concluded his message with these words:

“We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guaranty of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guaranties, treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on.

“We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.”

Premier M. Kerensky of Russia made announcement on September 17th, 1917, in behalf of his Government that Russia would become a republic on September 25th, 1917.

TRUE AND FALSE STANDARDS OF PATRIOTISM

Patriotism and Politics

By JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

I HAVE no apology to make for offering some reflections on the political outlook of the nation; for my rights as a citizen were not abdicated or abridged on becoming a Christian prelate, and the sacred character which I profess, far from lessening, rather increases, my obligations to my country.

In answer to those who affirm that a churchman is not qualified to discuss politics, by reason of his sacred calling, which removes him from the political arena, I would say that this statement may be true in the sense that a clergyman, as such, should not be a heated partisan of any political party; but it is not true in the sense that he is unfitted by his sacred profession for discussing political principles. His very seclusion from popular agitation gives him a vantage-ground over those that are in the whirlpool of party strife, just as they who have never witnessed Shakespeare's plays performed on the stage are better qualified to judge of the genius of the author and the literary merit of his productions than they who witness the plays amid the environment of stage scenery.

Every man in the Commonwealth leads a dual life—a private life under the shadow of the home, and a public life under the ægis of the state. As a father, a husband, or a son, he owes certain duties to the family; as a citizen, he owes certain obligations to his country. These civic virtues are all comprised under the generic name, patriotism

Patriotism means love of country. Its root is the Latin word *patria*, a word not domesticated in English. The French have it in *patrie*; the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races have it literally translated in Fatherland. "Fatherland," says Cicero, is "the common parent of us all: *Patria est communis omnium nostrum parens.*" It is the paternal home extended, the family reaching out to the city, the province, the country. Hence, with us, fatherland and country have come to be synonymous. Country in this sense comprises two elements, the soil itself and the men who live thereon. We love the soil in which our fathers sleep, *terra patrum*, *terra patria*, the land in which we were born. We love the men who as fellow dwellers share that land with us. When Dom Pedro died in Paris, he was laid to his last sleep on Brazilian soil, which he had carried away with him for that very purpose. Let a citizen from Maine meet a citizen from California on the shores of the Bosphorus or on the banks of the Tiber, they will, at once, forget that at home they dwelt three thousand miles apart. State lines are obliterated, party differences are laid aside, religious animosities, if such had existed, are extinguished. They warmly clasp hands, they remember only that they are fellow American citizens, children of the same mother, fellow dwellers in the same land over which floats the star-spangled banner.

Patriotism implies not only love of soil and of fellow citizens, but also, and principally, attachment to the laws, institutions, and government of one's country; filial admiration of the heroes, statesmen, and men of genius, who have contributed to its renown by the valor of their arms, the wisdom of their counsel, or their literary fame. It includes, also, an ardent zeal for the maintenance of those sacred principles that secure to the citizen freedom of conscience, and an earnest determination to consecrate his life, if necessary, *pro aris et focis*, in defense of altar and fireside, of God and Fatherland. Patriotism is a universal sentiment of the race:

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
 'This is my own, my native land!'"

Patriotism is not a sentiment born of material and physical well-being; it is a sentiment that the poverty of country and the discomforts of climate do not diminish, that the inflictions of conquest and despotism do not augment. The truth is, it is a rational instinct placed by the Creator in the breast of man. When God made man a social being, He gave him a sentiment that urges him to sacrifice himself for his family and his country, which is, as it were, his larger family. "Dear are ancestors, dear are children, dear are relatives and friends; all these loves are contained in love of country."

The Roman was singularly devoted to his country. *Civis Romanus sum* was his proudest boast. He justly gloried in being a citizen of a republic conspicuous for its centuries of endurance.

Patriotism finds outward and, so to say, material expression, in respect for the flag that symbolizes the country, and for the chief magistrate who represents it. Perhaps it is only when an American travels abroad that he fully realizes how deep-rooted is his love for his native country. The sentiment of patriotism, which may be dormant at home, is aroused and quickened in foreign lands. The sight of an American flag flying from the mast of a ship in mid-ocean or in some foreign port, awakes in him unwonted emotion and enthusiasm.

Love of country, as I have described it, which is fundamentally an ethical sentiment, and which was such in all nations, even before Christian Revelation was given to the world, and which is such to-day among nations that have not heard the Christian message, is elevated, ennobled, and perfected by the religion of Christ. Patriotism in non-Christian times and races has inspired heroism even unto death. We do not pretend that Christian patriotism can do more. But we do say that Christianity has given to patriotism and to the sacrifices it demands, nobler motives and higher ideals.

If the virtue of patriotism was held in such esteem by pagan Greece and Rome, guided only by the light of reason, how much more should it be cherished by Christians, instructed as they are by the voice of Revelation! The Founder of the Christian religion has ennobled and sanctified loyalty to coun-

try by the influence of His example and the force of His teaching.

Next to God, our country should hold the strongest place in our affections. Impressed, as we ought to be, with a profound sense of the blessings which our system of government continues to bestow on us, we shall have a corresponding dread lest these blessings should be withdrawn from us. It is a sacred duty for every American to do all in his power to perpetuate our civil institutions and to avert the dangers that threaten them.

The system of government which obtains in the United States is tersely described in the well-known sentence: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people;" which may be paraphrased thus: Ours is a government in which the people are ruled by the representatives of their own choice, and for the benefit of the people themselves.

Our rulers are called the servants of the people, since they are appointed to fulfill the people's wishes; and the people are called the sovereign people, because it is by their sovereign voice that their rulers are elected.

The method by which the supreme will of the people is registered is the ballot-box. This is the oracle that proclaims their choice. This is the balance in which the merits of the candidates are weighed. The heavier scale determines at once the decision of the majority and the selection of the candidate.

And what spectacle is more sublime than the sight of ten millions of citizens determining, not by the bullet, but by the ballot, the ruler that is to preside over the nation's destinies for four years!

"A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
But executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God:
And from its force nor doors nor locks
Can shield you, 't is the ballot-box."

But the greatest blessings are liable to be perverted. Our Republic, while retaining its form and name, may degenerate

into most odious tyranny; and the irresponsible despotism of the multitude is more galling, because more difficult to be shaken off, than that of the autocrat.

Our Christian civilization gives us no immunity from political corruption and disaster. The oft-repeated cry of election frauds should not be treated with indifference, though, in many instances, no doubt, it is the empty charge of defeated partisans against successful rivals, or the heated language of a party press.

But after all reasonable allowances are made, enough remains of a substantial character to be ominous. In every possible way, by tickets insidiously printed, by "colonizing," "repeating," and "personation," frauds are attempted, and too often successfully, on the ballot. I am informed by a trustworthy gentleman that, in certain localities, the adherents of one party, while proof against bribes from their political opponents, will exact compensation before giving their votes even to their own party candidates. The evil would be great enough if it were restricted to examples of this kind, but it becomes much more serious when large bodies of men are debauched by the bribes or intimidated by the threats of wealthy corporations.

But when the very fountains of legislation are polluted by lobbying and other corrupt means; when the hand of bribery is extended, and not always in vain, to our municipal, state, and national legislators; when our law-makers become the pliant tools of some selfish and greedy capitalists, instead of subserving the interests of the people—then, indeed, all patriotic citizens have reason to be alarmed about the future of our country.

The man who would poison the wells and springs of the land is justly regarded as a human monster, as an enemy of society, and no punishment could be too severe for him. Is he not as great a criminal who would poison and pollute the ballot-box, the unfailing fount and well-spring of our civil freedom and of our national life?

The privilege of voting is not an inherent or inalienable right. It is a solemn and sacred trust, to be used in strict

accordance with the intentions of the authority from which it emanates.

When a citizen exercises his honest judgment in casting his vote for the most acceptable candidate, he is making a legitimate use of the prerogatives confided to him. But when he sells or barter his vote, when he disposes of it to the highest bidder, like a merchantable commodity, he is clearly violating his trust and degrading his citizenship.

The enormity of the offense will be readily perceived by pushing it to its logical consequences:

First. Once the purchase of votes is tolerated or condoned or connived at, the obvious result is that the right of suffrage becomes a solemn farce. The sovereignty is no longer vested in the people, but in corrupt politicians or in wealthy corporations; money instead of merit becomes the test of success; the election is determined, not by the personal fitness and integrity of the candidate, but by the length of his own or his patron's purse; and the aspirant for office owes his victory, not to the votes of his constituents, but to the grace of some political boss.

Second. The better class of citizens will lose heart and absent themselves from the polls, knowing that it is useless to engage in a contest which is already decided by irresponsible managers.

Third. Disappointment, vexation, and righteous indignation will burn in the breasts of upright citizens. These sentiments will be followed by apathy and despair of carrying out successfully a popular form of government. The enemies of the Republic will then take advantage of the existing scandals to decry our system and laud absolute monarchies. The last stage in the drama is political stagnation or revolution.

But, happily, the American people are not prone to despondency or to political stagnation, or to revolution outside of the lines of legitimate reform. They are cheerful and hopeful, because they are conscious of their strength; and well they may be, when they reflect on the century of ordeals through which they have triumphantly passed. They are vigilant, because they are liberty-loving, and they know that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." They are an enlightened and practical

people; therefore are they quick to detect and prompt to resist the first inroads of corruption. They know well how to apply the antidote to the political distemper of the hour. They have the elasticity of mind and heart to rise to the occasion. They will never suffer the stately temple of the Constitution to be overthrown, but will hasten to strengthen the foundation where it is undermined, to repair every breach, and to readjust every stone of the glorious edifice.

In conclusion, I shall presume to suggest, with all deference, a brief outline of what appear to me the most efficient means to preserve purity of elections and to perpetuate our political independence.

Many partial remedies may be named. The main purpose of these remedies is to foster and preserve what may be called a public conscience. In the individual man, conscience is that inner light which directs him in the knowledge and choice of good and evil, that practical judgment which pronounces over every one of his acts, that it is right or wrong, moral or immoral. Now, this light and judgment which directs man in the ordinary personal affairs of life, must be his guide also in the affairs of his political life; for he is answerable to God for his political, as well as his personal, life.

The individual conscience is an enlightenment and a guide; and it is itself illumined and directed by the great maxims of natural law and the conclusions which the mind is constantly deducing from those maxims. Now, is there not a set of maxims and opinions that fulfill the office of guides to the masses in their political life?

The means which I propose are:

First. The enactment of strict and wholesome laws for preventing bribery and the corruption of the ballot-box, accompanied with condign punishment against the violators of the law. Let such protection and privacy be thrown around the polling booth that the humblest citizen may be able to record his vote without fear of pressure or of interference from those that might influence him. Such a remedy has already been attempted, with more or less success, in some states, by the introduction of new systems of voting.

Second. A pure, enlightened, and independent judiciary to interpret and enforce the laws.

Third. A vigilant and fearless press that will reflect and create a healthy public opinion. Such a press, guided by the laws of justice and the spirit of American institutions, is the organ and the reflection of national thought, the outer bulwark of the rights and liberties of the citizen against the usurpations of authority and the injustice of parties, the speediest and most direct castigator of vice and dishonesty. It is a duty of the citizens of a free country not only to encourage the press, but to coöperate with it; and it is a misfortune for any land when its leading men neglect to instruct their country and act on public opinion through this powerful instrument for good.

Fourth. The incorporation into our school system of familiar lessons embodying a history of our country, a brief sketch of her heroes, statesmen, and patriots, whose civic virtues the rising generation will thus be taught to emulate. The duties and rights of citizens along with reverence for our political institutions should likewise be inculcated. There is danger that the country whose history is not known and cherished will become to the masses only an abstraction, or, at best, that it will be in touch with them only on its less lovable side, the taxes and burdens it imposes. Men lost in an unnatural isolation, strangers to the past life of their nation, living on a soil to which they hold only by the passing interests of the present, as atoms without cohesion, are not able to realize and bring home to themselves the claims of a country that not only *is*, but that was before them, and that will be, as history alone can teach, long after them.

Fifth. A more hearty celebration of our national holidays.

The Hebrew people, as we learn from sacred scripture, were commanded to commemorate by an annual observance their liberation from the bondage of Pharaoh and their entrance into the Promised Land. In nearly all civilized countries there are certain days set apart to recall some great events in their national history, and to pay honor to the memory of the heroes who figured in them. The United States has already established three national holidays. The first is consecrated to the

birth of the "Father of his Country;" the second, to the birth of the nation; and the third is observed as a day of Thanksgiving to God for his manifold blessings to the nation. On those days, when the usual occupations of life are suspended, every citizen has leisure to study and admire the political institutions of his country, and to thank God for the benedictions that He has poured out on us as a people. In contemplating these blessings, we may well repeat with the Royal Prophet: "He hath not done in like manner to every nation, and His judgments He hath not made manifest to them."

If holidays are useful to those that are to the manner born, they are still more imperatively demanded for the foreign population constantly flowing into our country, and which consists of persons who are strangers to our civil institutions. The annually recurring holidays will create and develop in their minds a knowledge of our history and admiration for our system of government. It will help, also, to mold our people into unity of political faith. By the young, especially, are holidays welcomed with keen delight; and as there is a natural, though unconscious, association in the mind between the civic festivity and the cause that gave it birth, their attachment to the day will extend to the patriotic event or to the men whose anniversary is celebrated.

Sixth. The maintenance of party lines is an indispensable means for preserving political purity. One party watches the other, takes note of its shortcomings, its blunders and defects; and it has at its disposal the means for rebuking any abuse of power on the part of the dominant side, by appealing to the country at the tribunal of the ballot-box. The healthier periods of the Roman Republic were periods of fierce political strife. The citizens of Athens were not allowed to remain neutral. They were compelled to take sides on all questions of great public interest. Not only was every citizen obliged to vote, but the successful candidate was bound to accept the office to which he was called, and to subordinate his taste for private life to the public interests.

England owes much of her greatness and liberty to the active and aggressive vigilance of opposing political camps.

Political parties are the outcome of political freedom. Parties are not to be confounded with factions. The former contend for a principle, the latter struggle for a master.

To jurists and statesmen these considerations may seem trite, elementary, and commonplace. But, like all elementary principles, they are of vital import. They should be kept prominently in view before the people, and not obscured in a maze of wordy technicalities. They are landmarks to guide men in the path of public duty, and they would vastly contribute to the good order and stability of the commonwealth if they were indelibly stamped on the heart and memory of every American citizen.

WHAT TRUE PATRIOTISM
DEMANDS

TRUE AND FALSE STANDARDS OF PATRIOTISM

What True Patriotism Demands of the American Citizen

By ROGER SHERMAN

THE birthday of Washington, the one man of all recorded time to whom all civilized nations have, with one voice, awarded the crown of true greatness, brings memories of heroic times and heroic deeds, and inspires one dominant thought and one most appropriate theme upon which we may dwell with pride and with profit.

The thought is that we are Americans, standing in the midst of our heritage of this great land, with its unlimited wealth of resources and its boundless possibilities, with hearts swelling with noble yearning of patriotism born of the traditions and the memories we are so fortunate as to have had handed down to us.

The theme is Americanism. What is it? What have we which we should distinguish by that name? What are the typical ideas, principles, and ideals of which we, so far as in each of us lies, should be the special custodians, and which, as they have come to us illustrated with many a tradition of wisdom under difficulty, of endurance, self-sacrifice, and of valor, we should guard, cherish, inculcate, and, in our turn, pass on to the ages yet to come? *Noblesse oblige*. With fortune's favors come responsibilities; traditions and opportunities, such as those of the descendants of revolutionary sires, carry with them grave duties to their country and to themselves.

Foremost among American typical ideas, we may place the ever present love of liberty, and with it its correlative obligation of obedience to law. The Anglo-Saxon, first among the peoples of the earth, has attempted to solve the problem of liberty subjected to law, and of law subjected to liberty. As there can be with us no law without liberty of the individual, so there can be no desirable liberty which is not restrained by law. The liberty to do right is for the individual, in all directions of growth and development, so long as he trespasses not upon the equal right of his fellow; the function of law is to lay its restraining hand upon liberty that dares to do wrong to the equal; for a wrong done to one is a wrong to all, and a wrong to the state. Growing lawlessness is one of our great national dangers—lawlessness in high places; lawless business methods; lawlessness of public men; a standard of obedience which results only in evasion; a rule of conduct restrained only by a view of the opening doors of a penitentiary. Lawlessness begets lawlessness. The constant spectacle of legislators faithless to their obligations, to their constituents, and to the state; of corrupt politicians escaping punishment, and holding places once considered honorable, by grace of a dollar; of great corporations and combinations of capital, lifting themselves beyond the reach of the individual citizen, and, in some instances, beyond that of the commonwealth itself, can but breed other lawlessness, and tend to reduce society to its original condition—that of savage warfare, intensified and made more destructive to the innocent by the instrumentalities which modern science has made available.

The American, true to his country and its traditions, must therefore necessarily hold all citizens to obedience to law, and demand that all shall be alike amenable to it and equal before it. The lawlessness of power is most dangerous. The eternal vigilance that guards our liberties cannot avail without that constant watchfulness of the encroachments of power, which, history teaches us, precede the downfall of freedom; insidious and specious claims; usurpation masked behind false pretense or accepted truths, or public danger, real or imagined—usurpation, not always by the government or the throne, but by those

greater forces behind the throne. Stability of the law and certainty of its equal enforcement are the sure safeguards against anarchy, which is but the ultimate development of all lawlessness. The support of law and order should be required of those in places of power with equal firmness as from the weak.

Not least among the traits of our ancestors were sturdy independence and self-reliance. Necessities of their existence—these entered into their daily lives and found expression in many of the provisions of the governments which they formed. These were among the earliest developments of that democratic spirit which recognizes the man for what he is and has done, rather than for his pretensions, his wealth, or his ancestry. As Daniel Webster pointed out in his oration, delivered at the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the strength of our government depends greatly upon the system adopted by the first settlers of New England, by which the frequent division of estates was made certain, and the accumulation of great landed properties was declared to be against public policy. The equal distribution of wealth was aimed at, and the independence and mutual respect that grew up from small holdings of farms did much to build up and preserve our national character. When the soil is owned by great numbers of independent freemen, no foreign foe is to be feared. The American at his best does not need to be nursed or coddled. An open field and a fair fight are all the demands he makes of fortune or of his fellow man.

Simplicity of manners, and the secondary place accorded to mere wealth, were characteristics of the men and women who gave life to colonial independence and molded our commonwealths into a national Union. In those days wealth brought culture, refinement, and comfort; but history of that era fails to record a single instance where it purchased a senatorship, a cabinet position, or a judgeship; or yet, where these were purchased for a subservient tool who was needed as an advocate of some great wrong. Our heritage is not one of luxury, nor are our lives to be devoted to the aping of foreign manners, with their attendants of foreign vices.

But, while we dwell with pardonable pride upon the early history of our country, recall with admiration the stern and simple virtues of those who made that history, and revere in silent thought the great patriot who led in that epoch-making struggle, we ought not to forget the demands of the present hour upon our citizenship, nor close our eyes to the impending dangers beneath which we are drifting. Are our people walking in a fool's paradise of mutual admiration, cheered on their way by constantly recurring pyrotechnic displays of adulation and choruses of self-glorification? Are we in danger of mistaking our self-satisfaction for patriotism? Do we even now realize the dangers of the sectional spirit, against which Washington warned his countrymen? Are there not too many excellent people who believe that, by reason of our soil, or climate, or race, or atmosphere, or form of government, the people of the United States are to be exempted from the calamities which history tells us have befallen other nations? Is there not a feeling that, on this continent and in this age, men are in some unknown way to be freed from the consequences of vices and imperfections which destroyed mankind in the past, and that, for us, nature may have made special arrangements, and suspended the usual operations of cause and effect for the exceptional care of her favorite children of the West? No matter what happens, that the United States will be, in that purely American and most comprehensive phrase, "all right," is the inward belief which enables the average citizen to go on from year to year, oblivious to the growth of dangerous evils, and complacently leaving them to the nursing care of his very particular friend, the professional politician. Yet, it is apparent that there are great numbers of people, increasing year by year, who are coming to realize that even republics may not always be perfect, and that the American Republic can be in some things improved, even if the form of government cannot be. The very patriotism which animates us, like the love of the parent for the child, leads us to see that there are diseases in the body politic which are not mere eruptions upon the surface, but are deadly in their character; and, though the infant is strong and its constitution perfect, it may

not, nevertheless, be able to throw off sickness without a little care on the part of its natural guardians.

In a republic, as has been so often said as to be now a platitude, the government will be good or bad in exact ratio to the goodness or badness of the citizens who create it, for it rests upon their intelligence and political virtue. Above all, therefore, should we guard from all attacks our system of public education. Our public schools should be the nurseries of pure Americanism. Here should be taught—aye, to the exclusion, if need be, of other studies now occupying attention—American history, the principles of our form of government as laid down in our Constitutions and bills of rights, the practical duties of citizenship, and the need of their active performance. Needed reforms should not be left to the practical politician, for he moves to their accomplishment with lagging and reluctant step, accelerated only by the prodding bayonets of outraged citizenship. What he wants is votes, and he never “panders to the moral sense” of the community if he can avoid it.

And this brings us to the consideration of another characteristic of the early days—the moral sentiment which prevailed in the formative era, and entered into the struggle for independence, and the religious force always present in its inception and throughout its progress. In that epoch, the Ten Commandments had a place in politics, as well as in daily life. Call the early New England system a “theocracy” if you will; yet, in the discussions of public affairs, in the choosing of officials, in the deliberations of the town-meeting, morals and religion were in their politics, and they heeded not the sneer that they were infusing politics into their religion. What though, seeing less clearly by the dim lights of their age, they sometimes became fanatics and persecutors, were they not right in teaching and practicing that the principles of religion and morality should govern men in the discharge of their duties as citizens, as well as otherwise?

Can we, in our day, hope long to maintain our system upon the plane of good government, if we sanction the methods now everywhere around us, permitting all the vile passions of bar-

barous—yea, of savage—man to be let loose in all manner of evil-doing every year, and call these elections?

Shall we turn over our public schools—aye, our very homes—to the rule of law-breakers, and they who bear false witness?

Those who stand on the watch-towers of human progress are warning us that we are upon the border-line beyond which lie great political and social changes, and that the hour is close upon us when once again the American who loves his country must choose the ground upon which he will stand to fight again a battle for the race. The great pendulum of time has swung once again to the point of transition, and the hour hand points to the day—yea, to the very moment—when old ideas and formulas and time-worn methods no longer serve to still the beatings of the great heart of humanity, and man, with uplifted brow, and tingling nerve and bounding pulse, is about to march forward to another stage of his unknowable destiny.

What this change will be we know not. That it will be of the nature of a revolution cannot well be doubted. That there will be a more perfect Union is probable. That money will be less a god of our people we may sincerely hope. We hear the distant tread of myriad feet; the sound of strange cries is wafted to us from the distance, and, like the dumb beasts in the atmosphere of a coming storm, we stand silent and appalled at what we cannot avert. But we need not fear, for, whatever the coming change may bring forth, it will be in the interest and advancement of the cause of humanity and popular government; and they will come forth upon a still higher plane for the progress of the race. Law and order will be maintained, for the Anglo-Saxon is their guardian and protector, but they will be the law and order of a self-governed people, freed from industrial tyranny and the domination of the golden calf.

God grant that, when this hour strikes, we and each of us may be found anchored to the ideas and principles which America has given to the world, and that we shall remember that names are nothing; the achievements or rank of ancestors or kindred are nothing; long descent is nothing; but the culture and growth of each individual in strength of mind and body is everything; fixed principles of citizenship, of morals,

and of business conduct are everything; courage to assert and maintain conscientious and well considered convictions, and to do what we believe, is everything. A feeble race of men, drifting down the stream of time, the sport of shifting currents, and wrecked ever and anon upon the same shoals and rocks of error and folly, cannot too soon perish. But a strong, conscientious, courageous, self-respecting people, standing firm for the right, for human progress, for human liberty, whether rich or poor, high among the rulers of the nations or walking in humble estate, commands and receives respect, and bears with it the seed and promise of continued life. Nor should we forget that sublime saying of the early Puritan Republican, who, having condemned his king to death, was equally as firm in resisting the usurpations of his successor, that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

In the veins of all the races that make up the manhood of America, there flows no drop of blood which has not been purified and made strong by rebellion against wrong. Whether Teuton, Celt or Saxon, Frank or Scot, in all ages and in all lands, on the plains and mountains of Europe, at Runnymede and Bosworth Field, from Blackwater to Bannockburn, from Lexington to Yorktown, these have wrung from the hands of overbearing power, civil and religious liberty and the crowns of honor. Sad will be the day when the American people forget their traditions and their history, and no longer remember that the country they love, the institutions they cherish, and the freedom they hope to preserve, were born from the throes of armed resistance to tyranny, and nursed in the rugged arms of fearless men.

DEMOCRACY

AMERICAN IDEALS

Democracy

By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

THE framers of the American Constitution were far from wishing, or intending, to found a democracy in the strict sense of the word, though, as was inevitable, every expansion of the scheme of government they elaborated has been in a democratical direction. But this has been generally the slow result of growth, and not the sudden innovation of theory; in fact, they had a profound disbelief in theory, and knew better than to commit the folly of breaking with the past. They were not seduced by the French fallacy that a new system of government could be ordered like a new suit of clothes. They would as soon have thought of ordering a new suit of flesh and skin. It is only on the roaring loom of time that the stuff is woven for such a vesture of their thought and experience as they were meditating. They recognized fully the value of tradition and habit as the great allies of permanence and stability. They all had that distaste for innovation which belonged to their race, and many of them a distrust of human nature derived from their creed. The day of sentiment was over, and no dithyrambic affirmations or fine-drawn analyses of the Rights of Man would serve their present turn. This was a practical question, and they addressed themselves to it as men of knowledge and judgment should. Their problem was how to adapt English principles and precedents to the new conditions of American life, and they solved it with singular discretion. They put as many obstacles as they could contrive, not in the way of the people's will, but of their whim. With few

exceptions they probably admitted the logic of the then accepted syllogism—democracy, anarchy, despotism. But this formula was framed upon the experience of small cities shut up to stew within their narrow walls, where the number of citizens made but an inconsiderable fraction of the inhabitants, where every passion was reverberated from house to house and from man to man with gathering rumor till every impulse became gregarious and therefore inconsiderate, and every popular assembly needed but an infusion of eloquent sophistry to turn it into a mob, all the more dangerous because sanctified with the formality of law.

Fortunately their case was wholly different. They were to legislate for a widely-scattered population and for states already practiced in the discipline of a partial independence. They had an unequaled opportunity and enormous advantages. The material they had to work upon was already democratical by instinct and habitude. It was tempered to their hands by more than a century's schooling in self-government. They had but to give permanent and conservative form to a ductile mass. In giving impulse and direction to their new institutions, especially in supplying them with checks and balances, they had a great help and safeguard in their federal organization. The different, sometimes conflicting, interests and social systems of the several states made existence as a Union and coalescence into a nation conditional on a constant practice of moderation and compromise. The very elements of disintegration were the best guides in political training. Their children learned the lesson of compromise only too well, and it was the application of it to a question of fundamental morals that cost us our Civil War. We learned once for all that compromise makes a good umbrella but a poor roof; that it is a temporary expedient, often wise in party politics, almost sure to be unwise in statesmanship.

Has not the trial of democracy in America proved, on the whole, successful? If it had not, would the Old World be vexed with any fears of its proving contagious? This trial would have been less severe could it have been made with a people homogeneous in race, language, and traditions, whereas the United

States have been called on to absorb and assimilate enormous masses of foreign population, heterogeneous in all these respects, and drawn mainly from that class which might fairly say that the world was not their friend, nor the world's law. The previous condition too often justified the traditional Irishman, who, landing in New York and asked what his politics were, inquired if there was a government there, and on being told that there was, retorted, "Thin I'm agin it!" We have taken from Europe the poorest, the most ignorant, the most turbulent of her people, and have made them over into good citizens, who have added to our wealth, and who are ready to die in defense of a country and of institutions which they know to be worth dying for.

The exceptions have been (and they are lamentable exceptions) where these hordes of ignorance and poverty have coagulated in great cities. But the social system is yet to seek which has not to look the same terrible wolf in the eyes. On the other hand, at this very moment Irish peasants are buying up the worn-out farms of Massachusetts, and making them productive again by the same virtues of industry and thrift that once made them profitable to the English ancestors of the men who are deserting them. To have achieved even these prosaic results (if you choose to call them so), and that out of materials the most discordant—I might say the most recalcitrant—argues a certain beneficent virtue in the system that could do it, and is not to be accounted for by mere luck. Carlyle said scornfully that America meant only roast turkey every day for everybody. He forgot that states, as Bacon said of wars, go on their bellies. As for the security of property, it should be tolerably well secured in a country where every other man hopes to be rich, even though the only property qualification be the ownership of two hands that add to the general wealth. Is it not the best security for anything to interest the largest possible number of persons in its preservation and the smallest in its division?

In point of fact, far-seeing men count the increasing power of wealth and its combinations as one of the chief dangers with which the institutions of the United States are threatened in

the not distant future. The right of individual property is no doubt the very corner-stone of civilization as hitherto understood, but I am a little impatient of being told that property is entitled to exceptional consideration because it bears all the burdens of the state. It bears those, indeed, which can most easily be borne, but poverty pays with its person the chief expenses of war, pestilence, and famine. Wealth should not forget this, for poverty is beginning to think of it now and then. Let me not be misunderstood. I see as clearly as any man possibly can, and rate as highly, the value of wealth, and of hereditary wealth, as the security of refinement, the feeder of all those arts that ennoble and beautify life and as making a country worth living in. Many an ancestral hall here in England has been a nursery of that culture which has been of example and benefit to all.

I should not think of coming before you to defend or to criticise any form of government. All have their virtues, all their defects, and all have illustrated one period or another in the history of the race, with signal services to humanity and culture. There is not one that could stand a cynical cross-examination by an experienced criminal lawyer, except that of a perfectly wise and perfectly good despot, such as the world has never seen, excepting that white-haired king of Browning's, who

" Lived long ago
In the morning of the world,
When Earth was nearer Heaven than now."

The English race, if they did not invent government by discussion, have at least carried it nearest to perfection in practice. It seems a very safe and reasonable contrivance for occupying the attention of the country, and is certainly a better way of settling questions than by push of pike. Yet, if one should ask it why it should not rather be called government by gabble, it would have to fumble a good while before it found the chance for a convincing reply.

As matters stand, too, it is beginning to be doubtful whether Parliament and Congress sit at Westminster and Washington or in the editors' rooms of the leading journals, so thoroughly

is everything debated before the authorized and responsible debaters get on their legs. And what shall we say of government by a majority of voices? To a person who in the last century would have called himself an impartial observer, a numerical preponderance seems, on the whole, as clumsy a way of arriving at truth as could well be devised, but experience has apparently shown it to be a convenient arrangement for determining what may be expedient or advisable or practicable at any given moment. Truth, after all, wears a different face to everybody and it would be too tedious to wait till all were agreed. She is said to lie at the bottom of a well, for the very reason, perhaps, that whoever looks down in search of her sees his own image at the bottom, and is persuaded not only that he has seen the goddess, but that she is far better-looking than he had imagined.

The arguments against universal suffrage are equally unanswerable. "What," we exclaim, "shall Tom, Dick, and Harry have as much weight in the scale as I?" Of course nothing could be more absurd. And yet universal suffrage has not been the instrument of greater unwisdom than contrivances of a more select description. Assemblies could be mentioned composed entirely of Masters of Arts and Doctors in Divinity which have sometimes shown traces of human passion or prejudice in their votes. The democratic theory is that those Constitutions are likely to prove steadiest which have the broadest base, that the right to vote makes a safety-valve of every voter, and that the best way of teaching a man how to vote is to give him the chance of practice. For the question is no longer the academic one, "Is it wise to give every man the ballot?" but rather the practical one, "Is it prudent to deprive whole classes of it any longer?" It may be conjectured that it is cheaper in the long run to lift men up than to hold them down, and that the ballot in their hands is less dangerous to society than a sense of wrong in their heads. At any rate this is the dilemma to which the drift of opinion has been for some time sweeping us, and in politics a dilemma is a more unmanageable thing to hold by the horns than a wolf by the ears.

It is said that the right of suffrage is not valued when it is indiscriminately bestowed, and there may be some truth in this, for I have observed that what men prize most is a privilege, even if it be that of chief mourner at a funeral. But is there not danger that it will be valued at more than its worth if denied, and that some illegitimate way will be sought to make up for the want of it? Men who have a voice in public affairs are at once affiliated with one or other of the great parties between which society is divided, merge their individual hopes and opinions in its safer, because more generalized, hopes and opinions, are disciplined by its tactics, and acquire, to a certain degree, the orderly qualities of an army. They no longer belong to a class, but to a body corporate. Of one thing, at least, we may be certain, that, under whatever method of helping things to go wrong man's wit can contrive, those who have the divine right to govern will be found to govern in the end, and that the highest privilege to which the majority of mankind can aspire is that of being governed by those wiser than they. Universal suffrage has in the United States sometimes been made the instrument of inconsiderate changes, under the notion of reform, and this from a misconception of the true meaning of popular government. One of these has been the substitution in many of the states of popular election for official selection in the choice of judges. The same system applied to military officers was the source of much evil during our Civil War, and, I believe, had to be abandoned. But it has been also true that on all great questions of national policy a reserve of prudence and discretion has been brought out at the critical moment to turn the scale in favor of a wiser decision. An appeal to the reason of the people has never been known to fail in the long run.

We are told that the inevitable result of democracy is to sap the foundations of personal independence, to weaken the principle of authority, to lessen the respect due to eminence, whether in station, virtue, or genius. If these things were so, society could not hold together. Perhaps the best forcing-house of robust individuality would be where public opinion is inclined to be most overbearing, as he must be of heroic temper who should walk along Piccadilly at the height of the

season in a soft hat. As for authority, it is one of the symptoms of the time that the religious reverence for it is declining everywhere, but this is due partly to the fact that statecraft is no longer looked upon as a mystery, but as a business, and partly to the decay of superstition, by which I mean the habit of respecting what we are told to respect rather than what is respectable in itself. There is more rough and tumble in the American democracy than is altogether agreeable to people of sensitive nerves and refined habits, and the people take their political duties lightly and laughingly, as is, perhaps, neither unnatural nor unbecoming 'in a young giant. Democracies can no more jump away from their own shadows than the rest of us can. They no doubt, sometimes make mistakes and pay honor to men who do not deserve it. But they do this because they believe them worthy of it, and though it be true that the idol is the measure of the worshiper, yet the worship has in it the germ of a nobler religion.

But is it democracies alone that fall into these errors? I, who have seen it proposed to erect a statue to Hudson, the railway king, and have heard Louis Napoleon hailed as the savior of society by men who certainly had no democratic associations or leanings, am not ready to think so. But democracies have likewise their finer instincts. I have also seen the wisest statesman and most pregnant speaker of our generation, a man of humble birth and ungainly manners, of little culture beyond what his own genius supplied, become more absolute in power than any monarch of modern times through the reverence of his countrymen for his honesty, his wisdom, his sincerity, his faith in God and man, and the nobly humane simplicity of his character. And I remember another whom popular respect enveloped as with a halo, the least vulgar of men, the most austere genial and, the most independent of opinion. Wherever he went he never met a stranger, but everywhere neighbors and friends proud of him as their ornament and decoration. Institutions which could bear and breed such men as Lincoln and Emerson had surely some energy for good. No, amid all the fruitless turmoil and miscarriage of the world, if there be one thing steadfast and of favorable omen, one thing to

make optimism distrust its own obscure distrust, it is the rooted instinct in men to admire what is better and more beautiful than themselves. The touchstone of political and social institutions is their ability to supply them with worthy objects of this sentiment, which is the very tap-root of civilization and progress. There would seem to be no readier way of feeding it with the elements of growth and vigor than such an organization of society as will enable men to respect themselves, and so to justify them in respecting others.

Such a result is quite possible under other conditions than those of an avowedly democratical Constitution. For I take it that the real essence of democracy was fairly enough defined by the First Napoleon when he said that the French Revolution meant "*la carrière ouverte aux talents*"—a clear pathway for merit of whatever kind. I should be inclined to paraphrase this by calling democracy that form of society, no matter what its political classification, in which every man had a chance and knew that he had it. If a man can climb, and feels himself encouraged to climb, from a coal-pit to the highest position for which he is fitted, he can well afford to be indifferent what name is given to the government under which he lives. The Bailli of Mirabeau, uncle of the more famous tribune of that name, wrote in 1771: "The English are, in my opinion, a hundred times more agitated and more unfortunate than the very Algerines themselves, because they do not know and will not know till the destruction of their over-swollen power, which I believe very near, whether they are monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, and wish to play the part of all three." England has not been obliging enough to fulfill the Bailli's prophecy, and perhaps it was this very carelessness about the name, and concern about the substance of popular government, this skill in getting the best out of things as they are, in utilizing all the motives which influence men, and in giving one direction to many impulses, that has been a principal factor of her greatness and power.

Perhaps it is fortunate to have an unwritten Constitution, for men are prone to be tinkering the work of their own hands, whereas they are more willing to let time and circumstance

mend or modify what time and circumstance have made. All free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion, and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends. It is, therefore, their first duty to purify the element from which they draw the breath of life. With the growth of democracy grows also the fear, if not the danger, that this atmosphere may be corrupted with poisonous exhalations from lower and more malarious levels, and the question of sanitation becomes more instant and pressing. Democracy in its best sense is merely the letting in of light and air. Lord Sherbrooke, with his usual epigrammatic terseness, bids you educate your future rulers. But would this alone be a sufficient safeguard? To educate the intelligence is to enlarge the horizon of its desires and wants. And it is well that this should be so. But the enterprise must go deeper and prepare the way for satisfying those desires and wants in so far as they are legitimate.

What is really ominous of danger to the existing order of things is not democracy (which, properly understood, is a conservative force), but the Socialism which may find a fulcrum in it. If we cannot equalize conditions and fortunes any more than we can equalize the brains of men—and a very sagacious person has said that “where two men ride of a horse one must ride behind”—we can yet, perhaps, do something to correct those methods and influences that lead to enormous inequalities, and to prevent their growing more enormous. It is all very well to pooh-pooh Mr. George and to prove him mistaken in his political economy. But he is right in his impelling motive; right, also, I am convinced, in insisting that humanity makes a part, by far the most important part, of political economy; and in thinking man to be of more concern and more convincing than the longest columns of figures in the world. For unless you include human nature in your addition, your total is sure to be wrong and your deductions from it fallacious. Communism means barbarism, but Socialism means, or wishes to mean, coöperation and community of interests, sympathy, the giving to the hands not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto in the wealth they must com-

bine to produce—means, in short, the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction.

I do not believe in violent changes, nor do I expect them. Things in possession have a very firm grip. One of the strongest cements of society is the conviction of mankind that the state of things into which they are born is a part of the order of the universe, as natural, let us say, as that the sun should go round the earth. It is a conviction that they will not surrender except on compulsion, and a wise society should look to it that this compulsion be not put upon them. For the individual man there is no radical cure, outside of human nature itself. The rule will always hold good that you must

Be your own palace or the world's your gaol.

But for artificial evils, for evils that spring from want of thought, thought must find a remedy somewhere. There has been no period of time in which wealth has been more sensible of its duties than now. It builds hospitals, it establishes missions among the poor, it endows schools. It is one of the advantages of accumulated wealth, and of the leisure it renders possible, that people have time to think of the wants and sorrows of their fellows. But all these remedies are partial and palliative merely. It is as if we should apply plasters to a single pustule of smallpox with a view of driving out the disease. The true way is to discover and to extirpate the germs. As society is now constituted these are in the air it breathes, in the water it drinks, in things that seem, and which it has always believed, to be the most innocent and healthful. The evil elements it neglects corrupt these in their springs and pollute them in their courses. Let us be of good cheer, however, remembering that the misfortunes hardest to bear are those which never come. The world has outlived much, and will outlive a great deal more, and men have contrived to be happy in it. It has shown the strength of its constitution in nothing more than in surviving the quack medicines it has tried. In the scales of the destinies brawn will never weigh so much as

brain. Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind, it is not in monarchies, or aristocracies, or democracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to a wider and wiser humanity.

TRUE AMERICANISM

True Americanism

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PATRIOTISM was once defined as "the last refuge of a scoundrel;" and somebody has recently remarked that when Dr. Johnson gave this definition he was ignorant of the infinite possibilities contained in the word "reform." Of course both gibes were quite justifiable, in so far as they were aimed at people who use noble names to cloak base purposes. Equally of course the man shows little wisdom and a low sense of duty who fails to see that love of country is one of the elemental virtues, even though scoundrels play upon it for their own selfish ends; and, inasmuch as abuses continually grow up in civic life as in all other kinds of life, the statesman is indeed a weakling who hesitates to reform these abuses because the word "reform" is often on the lips of men who are silly or dishonest.

What is true of patriotism and reform is true also of Americanism. There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to try to belittle reform movements or to bolster up existing iniquities in the name of Americanism; but this does not alter the fact that the man who can do most in this country is and must be the man whose Americanism is most sincere and intense. Outrageous though it is to use a noble idea as the cloak for evil, it is still worse to assail the noble idea itself because it can thus be used. The men who do iniquity in the name of patriotism, of reform, of Americanism, are merely one small division of the class that has always existed and will always exist—the class

of hypocrites and demagogues, the class that is always prompt to steal the watchwords of righteousness and use them in the interests of evil-doing.

The stoutest and truest Americans are the very men who have the least sympathy with the people who invoke the spirit of Americanism to aid what is vicious in our government, or to throw obstacles in the way of those who strive to reform it. It is contemptible to oppose a movement for good because that movement has already succeeded somewhere else, or to champion an existing abuse because our people have always been wedded to it. To appeal to national prejudice against a given reform movement is in every way unworthy and silly. It is as childish to denounce free trade because England has adopted it as to advocate it for the same reason. It is eminently proper, in dealing with the tariff, to consider the effect of tariff legislation in time past upon other nations as well as the effect upon our own; but in drawing conclusions it is in the last degree foolish to try to excite prejudice against one system because it is in vogue in some given country, or to try to excite prejudice in its favor because the economists of that country have found that it was suited to their own peculiar needs. In attempting to solve our difficult problem of municipal government it is mere folly to refuse to profit by whatever is good in the examples of Manchester and Berlin because these cities are foreign, exactly as it is mere folly blindly to copy their examples without reference to our own totally different conditions. As for the absurdity of declaiming against civil-service reform, for instance, as "Chinese," because written examinations have been used in China, it would be quite as wise to declaim against gunpowder because it was first utilized by the same people. In short, the man who, whether from mere dull fatuity or from an active interest in misgovernment, tries to appeal to American prejudice against things foreign, so as to induce Americans to oppose any measure for good, should be looked on by his fellow countrymen with the heartiest contempt. So much for the men who appeal to the spirit of Americanism to sustain us in wrong-doing. But we must never let our contempt for these

men blind us to the nobility of the idea which they strive to degrade

We Americans have many grave problems to solve, many threatening evils to fight, and many deeds to do, if, as we hope and believe, we have the wisdom, the strength, the courage, and the virtue to do them. But we must face facts as they are. We must neither surrender ourselves to a foolish optimism, nor succumb to a timid and ignoble pessimism. Our nation is that one among all the nations of the earth which holds in its hands the fate of the coming years. We enjoy exceptional advantages, and are menaced by exceptional dangers; and all signs indicate that we shall either fail greatly or succeed greatly. I firmly believe that we shall succeed; but we must not foolishly blink the dangers by which we are threatened, for that is the way to fail. On the contrary, we must soberly set to work to find out all we can about the existence and extent of every evil, must acknowledge it to be such, and must then attack it with unyielding resolution. There are many such evils, and each must be fought after a separate fashion; yet there is one quality which we must bring to the solution of every problem—that is, an intense and fervid Americanism. We shall never be successful over the dangers that confront us; we shall never achieve true greatness, nor reach the lofty ideal which the founders and preservers of our mighty Federal Republic have set before us, unless we are Americans in heart and soul, in spirit and purpose, keenly alive to the responsibility implied in the very name of American, and proud beyond measure of the glorious privilege of bearing it.

There are two or three sides to the question of Americanism, and two or three senses in which the word "Americanism" can be used to express the antithesis of what is unwholesome and undesirable. In the first place we wish to be broadly American and national, as opposed to being local or sectional. We do not wish, in politics, in literature, or in art, to develop that unwholesome parochial spirit, that over-exaltation of the little community at the expense of the great nation, which produces what has been described as the patriotism of the village,

the patriotism of the belfry. Politically, the indulgence of this spirit was the chief cause of the calamities which befell the ancient republics of Greece, the mediæval republics of Italy, and the petty states of Germany as it was in the last century. It is this spirit of provincial patriotism, this inability to take a view of broad adhesion to the whole nation that has been the chief among the causes that have produced such anarchy in the South American States, and which have resulted in presenting to us, not one great Spanish-American federal nation stretching from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, but a squabbling multitude of revolution-ridden states, not one of which stands even in the second rank as a power. However, politically, this question of American nationality has been settled once for all. We are no longer in danger of repeating in our history the shameful and contemptible disasters that have befallen the Spanish possessions on this continent since they threw off the yoke of Spain. Indeed, there is, all through our life, very much less of this parochial spirit than there was formerly. Still there is an occasional outcropping here and there; and it is just as well that we should keep steadily in mind the futility of talking of a Northern literature or a Southern literature, an Eastern or a Western school of art or science. Joel Chandler Harris is emphatically a national writer; so is Mark Twain. They do not write merely for Georgia or Missouri or California any more than for Illinois or Connecticut; they write as Americans and for all people who can read English. St. Gaudens lives in New York; but his work is just as distinctive of Boston or Chicago. It is of very great consequence that we should have a full and ripe literary development in the United States, but it is not of the least consequence whether New York, or Boston, or Chicago, or San Francisco becomes the literary or artistic center of the United States.

There is a second side to this question of a broad Americanism, however. The patriotism of the village or the belfry is bad, but the lack of all patriotism is even worse. There are philosophers who assure us that, in the future, patriotism will be regarded not as a virtue at all, but merely as a mental stage

in the journey toward a state of feeling when our patriotism will include the whole human race and all the world. This may be so; but the age of which these philosophers speak is still several æons distant. In fact, philosophers of this type are so very advanced that they are of no practical service to the present generation. It may be that, in ages so remote that we cannot now understand any of the feelings of those who will dwell in them, patriotism will no longer be regarded as a virtue, exactly as it may be that in those remote ages people will look down upon and disregard monogamic marriage; but as things now are and have been for two or three thousand years past, and are likely to be for two or three thousand years to come, the words "home" and "country" mean a great deal. Nor do they show any tendency to lose their significance. At present, treason, like adultery, ranks as one of the worst of all possible crimes.

One may fall very far short of treason and yet be an undesirable citizen in the community. The man who becomes Europeanized, who loses his power of doing good work on this side of the water, and who loses his love for his native land, is not a traitor; but he is a silly and undesirable citizen. He is as emphatically a noxious element in our body politic as is the man who comes here from abroad and remains a foreigner. Nothing will more quickly or more surely disqualify a man from doing good work in the world than the acquirement of that flaccid habit of mind which its possessors style cosmopolitanism.

It is not only necessary to Americanize the immigrants of foreign birth who settle among us, but it is even more necessary for those among us who are by birth and descent already Americans not to throw away our birthright, and, with incredible and contemptible folly, wander back to bow down before the alien gods whom our forefathers forsook. It is hard to believe that there is any necessity to warn Americans that, when they seek to model themselves on the lines of other civilizations, they make themselves the butts of all right-thinking men; and yet the necessity certainly exists to give this warning to many of our citizens who pride themselves on their

standing in the world of art and letters, or, perchance, on what they would style their social leadership in the community. It is always better to be an original than an imitation, even when the imitation is of something better than the original; but what shall we say of the fool who is content to be an imitation of something worse? Even if the weaklings who seek to be other than Americans were right in deeming other nations to be better than their own, the fact yet remains that to be a first-class American is fifty-fold better than to be a second-class imitation of a Frenchman or Englishman. As a matter of fact, however, those of our countrymen who do believe in American inferiority are always individuals who, however cultivated, have some organic weakness in their moral or mental make-up; and the great mass of our people, who are robustly patriotic, and who have sound, healthy minds, are justified in regarding these feeble renegades with a half-impatient and half-amused scorn.

We believe in waging relentless war on rank-growing evils of all kinds, and it makes no difference to us if they happen to be of purely native growth. We grasp at any good, no matter whence it comes. We do not accept the evil attendant upon another system of government as an adequate excuse for that attendant upon our own; the fact that the courtier is a scamp does not render the demagogue any the less a scoundrel. But it remains true that, in spite of all our faults and shortcomings, no other land offers such glorious possibilities to the man able to take advantage of them, as does ours; it remains true that no one of our people can do any work really worth doing unless he does it primarily as an American. It is because certain classes of our people still retain their spirit of colonial dependence on, and exaggerated deference to, European opinion, that they fail to accomplish what they ought to. It is precisely along the lines where we have worked most independently that we have accomplished the greatest results; and it is in those professions where there has been no servility to, but merely a wise profiting by, foreign experience, that we have produced our greatest men. Our soldiers and statesmen and orators; our explorers, our wilderness-winners, and commonwealth-

builders; the men who have made our laws and seen that they were executed; and the other men whose energy and ingenuity have created our marvelous material prosperity—all these have been men who have drawn wisdom from the experience of every age and nation, but who have nevertheless thought, and worked, and conquered, and lived, and died, purely as Americans; and on the whole they have done better work than has been done in any other country during the short period of our national life.

On the other hand, it is in those professions where our people have striven hardest to mold themselves in conventional European forms that they have succeeded least; and this holds true to the present day, the failure being of course most conspicuous where the man takes up his abode in Europe; where he becomes a second-rate European, because he is over-civilized, over-sensitive, over-refined, and has lost the hardihood and manly courage by which alone he can conquer in the keen struggle of our national life. Be it remembered, too, that this same being does not really become a European; he only ceases being an American, and becomes nothing. He throws away a great prize for the sake of a lesser one, and does not even get the lesser one. The painter who goes to Paris, not merely to get two or three years' thorough training in his art, but with the deliberate purpose of taking up his abode there, and with the intention of following in the ruts worn deep by 10,000 earlier travelers, instead of striking off to rise or fall on a new line, thereby forfeits all chance of doing the best work. He must content himself with aiming at that kind of mediocrity which consists in doing fairly well what has already been done better; and he usually never even sees the grandeur and picturesqueness lying open before the eyes of every man who can read the book of America's past and the book of America's present. Thus it is with the undersized man of letters, who flees his country because he, with his delicate, effeminate sensitiveness, finds the conditions of life on this side of the water crude and raw; in other words, because he finds that he cannot play a man's part among men, and so goes where he will be sheltered from the winds that harden stouter souls. This

émigré may write graceful and pretty verses, essays, novels; but he will never do work to compare with that of his brother, who is strong enough to stand on his own feet, and do his work as an American. Thus it is with the scientist who spends his youth in a German university, and can thenceforth work only in the fields already fifty times furrowed by the German ploughs. Thus it is with that most foolish of parents who sends his children to be educated abroad, not knowing—what every clear-sighted man from Washington and Jay down has known—that the American who is to make his way in America should be brought up among his fellow Americans. It is among the people who like to consider themselves, and, indeed, to a large extent are, the leaders of the so-called social world, especially in some of the north-eastern cities, that this colonial habit of thought, this thoroughly provincial spirit of admiration for things foreign, and inability to stand on one's own feet, becomes most evident and most despicable. We believe in every kind of honest and lawful pleasure, so long as the getting it is not made man's chief business; and we believe heartily in the good that can be done by men of leisure who work hard in their leisure, whether at politics or philanthropy, literature or art. But a leisure class whose leisure simply means idleness is a curse to the community, and in so far as its members distinguish themselves chiefly by aping the worst—not the best—traits of similar people across the water, they become both comic and noxious elements of the body politic.

The third sense in which the word "Americanism" may be employed is with reference to the Americanizing of the newcomers to our shores. We must Americanize them in every way, in speech, in political ideas and principles, and in their way of looking at the relations between church and state. We welcome the German or the Irishman who becomes an American. We have no use for the German or Irishman who remains such. We do not wish German-Americans and Irish-Americans who figure as such in our social and political life; we want only Americans, and, providing they are such, we do not care whether they are of native or of Irish or of German ancestry. We have no room in any healthy American commu-

nity for a German-American vote or an Irish-American vote, and it is contemptible demagoguery to put planks into any party platform with the purpose of catching such a vote. We have no room for any people who do not act and vote simply as Americans, and as nothing else. Moreover, we have as little use for people who carry religious prejudices into our politics as for those who carry prejudices of caste or nationality. We stand unalterably in favor of the public-school system in its entirety. We believe that English and no other language, is that in which all the school exercises should be conducted. We are against any division of the school fund, and against any appropriation of public money for sectarian purposes. We are against any recognition whatever by the state, in any shape or form, of state-aided parochial schools. But we are equally opposed to any discrimination against or for a man because of his creed. We demand that all citizens, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, shall have fair treatment in every way; that all alike shall have their rights guaranteed them. The very reasons that make us unqualified in our opposition to state-aided sectarian schools make us equally bent that, in the management of our public schools, the adherents of each creed shall receive exact and equal justice, wholly without regard to their religious affiliations; that trustees, superintendents, teachers, scholars, all alike, shall be treated without any reference whatsoever to the creed they profess. We maintain that it is an outrage, in voting for a man for any position, whether state or national, to take into account his religious faith, providing only he is a good American. When a secret society does what in some places the American Protective Association seems to have done, and tries to proscribe Catholics both politically and socially, the members of such society show that they themselves are as utterly un-American, as alien to our school of political thought as the worst immigrants who land on our shores. Their conduct is equally base and contemptible; they are the worst foes of our public-school system, because they strengthen the hands of its ultramontane enemies; they should receive the hearty condemnation of all Americans who are truly patriotic.

The mighty tide of immigration to our shores has brought in its train much of good and much of evil; and whether the good or the evil shall predominate depends mainly on whether these new-comers do or do not throw themselves heartily into our national life, cease to be European, and become Americans like the rest of us. More than a third of the people of the northern states are of foreign birth or parentage. An immense number of them have become completely Americanized, and these stand on exactly the same plane as the descendants of any Puritan, Cavalier, or Knickerbocker among us, and do their full and honorable share of the nation's work. But where immigrants, or the sons of immigrants, do not heartily and in good faith throw in their lot with us, but cling to the speech, the customs, the ways of life, and the habits of thought of the Old World which they have left, they thereby harm both themselves and us. If they remain alien elements, unassimilated, and with interests separate from ours, they are mere obstructions to the current of our national life, and, moreover, can get no good from it themselves. In fact, though we ourselves also suffer from their perversity, it is they who really suffer most. It is an immense benefit to the European immigrant to change him into an American citizen. To bear the name of American is to bear the most honorable of titles; and whoever does not so believe has no business to bear the name at all, and, if he comes from Europe, the sooner he goes back there the better. Besides, the man who does not become Americanized nevertheless fails to remain a European, and becomes nothing at all. The immigrant cannot possibly remain what he was, or continue to be a member of the Old World society. If he tries to retain his old language, in a few generations it becomes a barbarous jargon; if he tries to retain his old customs and ways of life, in a few generations he becomes an uncouth boor. He has cut himself off from the Old World, and cannot retain his connection with it; and if he wishes ever to amount to anything he must throw himself heart and soul, and without reservation, into the new life to which he has come. It is urgently necessary to check and regulate our immigration by much more drastic laws than now exist: and this

should be done both to keep out laborers who tend to depress the labor market, and to keep out races which do not assimilate readily with our own, and unworthy individuals of all races—not only criminals, idiots, and paupers, but anarchists of the Most and O'Donovan Rossa type.

From his own standpoint, it is beyond all question the wise thing for the immigrant to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint, we have a right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good-fellowship to every man, no matter what his creed or birthplace, who comes here honestly intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us; but we have a right, and it is our duty to demand, that he shall indeed become so, and shall not confuse the issues with which we are struggling by introducing among us Old World quarrels and prejudices. There are certain ideas which he must give up. For instance, he must learn that American life is incompatible with the existence of any form of anarchy, or of any secret society having murder for its aim, whether at home or abroad; and he must learn that we exact full religious toleration and the complete separation of church and state. Moreover, he must not bring in his Old World religious race and national antipathies, but must merge them into love for our common country, and must take pride in the things which we can all take pride in. He must revere only our flag; not only must it come first, but no other flag should even come second. He must learn to celebrate Washington's birthday rather than that of Queen or Kaiser, and the Fourth of July instead of St. Patrick's Day. Our political and social questions must be settled on their own merits, and not complicated by quarrels between England and Ireland, or France and Germany, with which we have nothing to do; it is an outrage to fight an American political campaign with reference to questions of European politics. Above all, the immigrant must learn to talk and think and *be* United States.

The immigrant of to-day can learn much from the experience of the immigrants of the past, who came to America prior to the Revolutionary War. We were then already, what we are now, a people of mixed blood. Many of our most illustrious

Revolutionary names were borne by men of Huguenot blood—Jay, Sevier, Marion, Laurens. But the Huguenots were, on the whole, the best immigrants we have ever received; sooner than any other, and more completely, they became American in speech, conviction and thought. The Hollanders took longer than the Huguenots to become completely assimilated; nevertheless they in the end became so, immensely to their own advantage. One of the leading Revolutionary generals, Schuyler, and one of the Presidents of the United States, Van Buren, were of Dutch blood; but they rose to their positions, the highest in the land, because they had become Americans and had ceased being Hollanders. If they had remained members of an alien body, cut off by their speech and customs and belief from the rest of the American community, Schuyler would have lived his life as a boorish, provincial squire, and Van Buren would have ended his days a small tavern-keeper. So it is with the Germans of Pennsylvania. Those of them who became Americanized have furnished to our history a multitude of honorable names, from the days of the Mühlengbergs onward; but those who do not become Americanized form to the present day an unimportant body, of no significance in American existence. So it is with the Irish, who gave to Revolutionary annals such names as Carroll and Sullivan, and to the Civil War men like Sheridan—men who were Americans and nothing else; while the Irish who remain such, and busy themselves solely with alien politics, can have only an unhealthy influence upon American life, and can never rise as do their compatriots who become straightout Americans. Thus it has ever been with all people who have come hither, of whatever stock or blood. The same thing is true of the churches. A church which remains foreign, in language or spirit, is doomed.

But I wish to be distinctly understood on one point. Americanism is a question of spirit, conviction, and purpose, not of creed or birthplace. The politician who bids for the Irish or German vote, or the Irishman or German who votes as an Irishman or German, is despicable, for all citizens of this commonwealth should vote solely as Americans; but he is not

a whit less despicable than the voter who votes against a good American, merely because that American happens to have been born in Ireland or Germany. Know-nothingism, in any form, is as utterly un-American as foreignism. It is a base outrage to oppose a man because of his religion or birthplace, and all good citizens will hold any such effort in abhorrence. A Scandinavian, a German, or an Irishman who has really become an American has the right to stand on exactly the same footing as any native-born citizen in the land, and is just as much entitled to the friendship and support, social and political, of his neighbors. Among the men with whom I have been thrown in close personal contact socially, and who have been among my staunchest friends and allies politically, are not a few Americans who happen to have been born on the other side of the water, in Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia; and there could be no better men in the ranks of our native-born citizens.

In closing, I cannot better express the ideal attitude that should be taken by our fellow citizens of foreign birth than by quoting the words of a representative American, born in Germany, the Honorable Richard Guenther, of Wisconsin, in a speech spoken at the time of the Samoan trouble. He said:

“We know as well as any other class of American citizens where our duties belong. We will work for our country in time of peace and fight for it in time of war, if a time of war should ever come. When I say our country, I mean, of course, our adopted country. I mean the United States of America. After passing through the crucible of naturalization, we are no longer Germans; we are Americans. Our attachment to America cannot be measured by the length of our residence here. We are Americans from the moment we touch the American shore until we are laid in American graves. We will fight for America whenever necessary. America, first, last, and all the time. America against Germany, America against the world; America, right or wrong; always America. We are Americans.”

All honor to the man who spoke such words as those; and I believe they express the feelings of the great majority of those among our fellow-American citizens who were born

abroad. We Americans can do our allotted task well only if we face it steadily and bravely, seeing but not fearing the dangers. Above all we must stand shoulder to shoulder, not asking as to the ancestry or creed of our comrades, but only demanding that they be in very truth Americans, and that we all work together, heart, hand, and head, for the honor and the greatness of our common country.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

AMERICAN IDEALS

American Diplomacy

By JOHN HAY

[A speech made in reply to the toast of "Our Recent Diplomacy," at the dinner of the New York Chamber of Commerce, November, 19, 1901.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I NEED not dwell upon the mournful and tragic event by virtue of which I am here. When the President lay stricken in Buffalo, though hope beat high in all our hearts that his life might be spared for future usefulness to his country, it was still recognized as improbable that he should be able to keep the engagement he had made to be with you to-night, and your committee did me the honor to ask me to come in his place. This I have sometimes done, in his lifetime, though always with diffidence and dread; but how much more am I daunted by the duty of appearing before you when that great man, loved and revered above all even while living, has put on the august halo of immortality! Who could worthily come into your presence as the shadow of that illustrious Shade?

Let me advert, but for a moment, to one aspect of our recent bereavement, which is especially interesting to those engaged, as you are, in relations whose scope is as wide as the world. Never, since history began, has there been an event which so immediately, and so deeply, touched the sensibilities of so vast a portion of the human race. The sun, which set over Lake Erie while the surgeons were still battling for the President's life, had not risen on the Atlantic before every

capital of the civilized world was in mourning. And it was **not** from the centers of civilization alone that the voices of sorrow and sympathy reached us; they came as well from the utmost limits of the world, from the most remote islands of the sea; not only from the courts of Christendom, but from the temples of strange gods and the homes of exotic religions. Never before has the heart of the world throbbed with a sorrow so universal. Never before have the kingdoms of the earth paid such homage at the grave of a citizen. Something of this was naturally due to his great office—presiding, as he did, over the government of a nation holding in fee the certainty of illimitable greatness. But no ruler can acquire the instinctive regard and esteem of the world without possessing most unusual qualities of mind and character. This dead President of ours possessed them. He was strong; he was wise; he was gentle. With no external advantages beyond the mass of his fellow-citizens, he rose by sheer merit and will to the summit of distinction and power. With a growth as certain and gradual as that of an oak, he grew stronger and wiser with every year that he lived. Confronted continually with new and exacting situations, he was never unequal to them; his serenity was never clouded; he took the storm and the sunshine with the same cheery welcome; his vast influence expanded with his opportunities. Like that Divine Master whom he humbly and reverently served, he grew continually “in favor with God and man.”

One simple reason why the millions of this country mourned him as if they had buried a brother, and why all the nations of the earth felt that his death was a loss to humanity at large, was that he loved his fellow men. There were literally no bounds to his lavish good-will. In political genius, in wisdom for government, in power of controlling men, he was one of the elect of the earth—there were few like him; but in sentiment and feeling he was the most perfect democrat I ever met. He never knew what it meant to regard another man as his inferior or as his superior. Nothing human was alien to him. Even his death was in that sense significant. He was slain in the moment when, with that delightful smile we knew so well—

which seemed like the very sunshine of the spirit—he was stretching forth a generous hand to greet the lowest and meanest unit in that crowd of many thousands. He made no demagogical parade of his sympathy with the masses, but this sympathy was a part of his life. He knew no interest which was not theirs; their welfare was as dear to him as the blood in his own veins; and in spite of calumny and falsehood the people knew it, and they loved him in return.

Others will rise and labor and do good service to the Republic. We shall never lack good men when the emergency calls for them. Thank God! we do not lack them now. But it may well be doubted if in any century of the glorious future before us, there will ever appear two such sincere, high-minded, self-respecting lovers of the people as the last fifty years have shown us in Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley.

But the world must go on, though the greatest and best beloved fall by the way. I dare to come to you, because you have asked me, and he would have wished it, for he held that our personal feelings should never be considered when they conflicted with a public duty. And if I fall immeasurably below the standard to which he has accustomed you, the very comparisons you draw will be a tribute to his memory.

I am asked to say something about our diplomacy. You want from me nothing but the truth; and yet, if I confine myself to the truth, I cannot help fearing I shall do my profession a wrong in the minds of those who have been in the habit of considering diplomacy an occult science, as mysterious as alchemy, and as dangerous to the morals as municipal politics. It must be admitted that this conception of the diplomatic function is not without a certain historical foundation.

There was a time when diplomacy was a science of intrigue and falsehood, of traps and mines and countermines. The word "machinelic" has become an adjective in our common speech, signifying fraudulent craft and guile; but Machiavel was as honest a man as his time justified or required. The King of Spain wrote to the King of France, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, congratulating him upon the splendid dissimulation with which that stroke of policy had been accom-

plished. In the last generation it was thought a remarkable advance in straightforward diplomacy when Prince Bismarck recognized the advantage of telling the truth, even at the risk of misleading his adversary. It may be another instance of that naïve credulity with which I have often been charged by European critics when I say that I really believe the world has moved onward in diplomacy as in many other matters. In my experience of diplomatic life, which now covers more years than I like to look back upon, and in the far greater record of American diplomacy which I have read and studied, I can say without hesitation that we have generally told squarely what we wanted, announced early in negotiation what we were willing to give, and allowed the other side to accept or reject our terms. During the time in which I have been prominently concerned in our foreign relations, I can also say that we have been met by the representatives of other powers in the same spirit of frankness and sincerity. You, as men of large affairs, will bear me out in saying there is nothing like straightforwardness to beget its like.

The comparative simplicity of our diplomatic methods would be a matter of necessity if it were not of choice. Secret treaties, reserved clauses, private understandings, are impossible to us. No treaty has any validity until ratified by the senate; many require the action of both houses of Congress to be carried into effect. They must, therefore, be in harmony with public opinion. The Executive could not change this system even if he should ever desire to. It must be accepted, with all its difficulties and all its advantages; and it has been approved by the experience of a hundred years.

As to the measure of success which our recent diplomacy has met with, it is difficult, if not impossible, for me to speak. There are two important lines of human endeavor in which men are forbidden even to allude to their success—affairs of the heart and diplomatic affairs. In doing so, one not only commits a vulgarity which transcends all question of taste, but makes all future success impossible. For this reason, the diplomatic representatives of the government must frequently suffer in silence the most outrageous imputations upon their

patriotism, their intelligence, and their common honesty. To justify themselves before the public, they would sometimes have to place in jeopardy the interests of the nation. They must constantly adopt for themselves the motto of the French revolutionist, "Let my name wither, rather than my country be injured."

But if we are not permitted to boast of what we have done, we can at least say a word about what we have tried to do, and the principles which have guided our action. The briefest expression of our rule of conduct is, perhaps, the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule. With this simple chart we can hardly go far wrong.

I think I may say that our sister republics to the south of us are perfectly convinced of the sincerity of our attitude. They know we desire the prosperity of each of them, and peace and harmony among them. We no more want their territory than we covet the mountains of the moon. We are grieved and distressed when there are differences among them, but even then we should never think of trying to compose any of those differences unless by the request of both parties to it. Not even our earnest desire for peace among them will lead us to any action which might offend their national dignity or their just sense of independence. We owe them all the consideration which we claim for ourselves. To critics in various climates who have other views of our purposes we can only wish fuller information and more quiet consciences.

As to what we have tried to do—what we are still trying to do—in the general field of diplomacy, there is no reason for doubt on the one hand or reticence on the other. President McKinley in his messages during the last four years has made the subject perfectly clear. We have striven, on the lines laid down by Washington, to cultivate friendly relations with all powers, but not to take part in the formation of groups or combinations among them. A position of complete independence is not incompatible with relations involving not friendship alone, but concurrent action, as well, in important emergencies. We have kept always in view the fact that we are preëminently a peace-loving people; that our normal activities are in the

direction of trade and commerce; that the vast development of our industries imperatively demands that we shall not only retain and confirm our hold on our present markets, but seek constantly, by all honorable means, to extend our commercial interests in every practicable direction. It is for this reason we have negotiated the treaties of reciprocity which now await the action of the senate; all of them conceived in the traditional American spirit of protection to our own industries, and yet mutually advantageous to ourselves and our neighbors. In the same spirit we have sought, successfully, to induce all the great powers to unite in a recognition of the general principle of equality of commercial access and opportunity in the markets of the Orient. We believe that "a fair field and no favor" is all we require; and with less than that we cannot be satisfied. If we accept the assurances we have received as honest and genuine, as I certainly do, that equality will not be denied us; and the result may safely be left to American genius and energy.

We consider our interests in the Pacific Ocean as great now as those of any other power, and destined to indefinite development. We have opened our doors to the people of Hawaii, we have accepted the responsibility of the Philippines which Providence imposed upon us; we have put an end to the embarrassing condominium in which we were involved in Samoa, and while abandoning none of our commercial rights in the entire group, we have established our flag and our authority in Tutuila, which gives us the finest harbor in the South Seas. Next in order will come a Pacific cable, and an isthmian canal for the use of all well-disposed peoples, but under exclusive American ownership and American control—of both of which great enterprises President McKinley and President Roosevelt have been the energetic and consistent champions.

Sure as we are of our rights in these matters, convinced as we are of the authenticity of the vision which has led us thus far and still beckons us forward, I can yet assure you that so long as the administration of your affairs remains in hands as strong and skillful as those to which they have been and are

now confided, there will be no more surrender of our rights than there will be violation of the rights of others. The President to whom you have given your invaluable trust and confidence, like his now immortal predecessor, is as incapable of bullying a strong power as he is of wronging a weak one. He feels and knows—for has he not tested it, in the currents of the heady fight, as well as in the toilsome work of administration?—that the nation over whose destinies he presides has a giant's strength in the works of war, as in the works of peace. But that consciousness of strength brings with it no temptation to do injury to any power on earth, the proudest or the humblest. We frankly confess we seek the friendship of all the powers; we want to trade with all peoples; we are conscious of resources that will make our commerce a source of advantage to them and of profit to ourselves. But no wantonness of strength will ever induce us to drive a hard bargain with another nation because it is weak, nor will any fear of ignoble criticism tempt us to insult or defy a great power because it is strong, or even because it is friendly.

The attitude of our diplomacy may be indicated in a text of Scripture, which Franklin—the first and greatest of our diplomats—tells us passed through his mind when he was presented at the Court of Versailles. It was a text his father used to quote to him in the old candle shop in Boston, when he was a boy: "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings." Let us be diligent in our business and we shall stand—stand, you see, not crawl, nor swagger—stand, as a friend and equal, asking nothing, putting up with nothing but what is right and just, among our peers, in the great democracy of nations.

DEMANDS OF GOOD
CITIZENSHIP

AMERICAN IDEALS

Politics and the Demands of Good Citizenship

By BENJAMIN B. ODELL, Jr.

POLITICS is the science of government and of civil policies. In America, it is neither a business nor a profession, but it is incident to business, and the man who enters politics, either in a business or a professional way, will have a hard road to travel, unless he has a paying business behind him. When a man is permitted to vote, he is at an age when he can make his own decisions and arrive at his own conclusions; and, if he votes this way or that way, simply because an elder or a friend, or a family affiliation is stronger than his idea of right government, then he is nothing more than a political drone. Every man should know for whom he is casting his vote, and the reason why. It is his right, by virtue of his power of citizenship, to think for himself. It is necessary, for the country's welfare, that the young citizens should think for themselves. If governments are to be improved or sustained, the study of the economies of politics should be denied to no young man any more than his citizenship should be denied to him, and I believe that political economy should be sufficiently simplified to permit a course in its rudiments in the primary schools. Such study should fit the future voter for the proper promulgation and administration of his beliefs. It is the influence of independent voters that affects the decisions of public questions most powerfully.

The young man who wishes to make politics an active part

of his life must cast to the winds the belief that it is an impeachment of respectability to be associated with a party, or with the management of a party. Strong, well developed, well managed combinations are just as apt to show their supremacy in politics as in business, and it is not discreditable nor demoralizing to blend one's interest with such an organization. If the citizen keeps steadfastly in his mind the patriotic principles that bind him to his party and the honest convictions which must attend the man who becomes a factor in the management of his nation, then no stigma can be placed on his name; no carping critic can defame him, because he has his country's best interests at heart. A man who would draw the line between his own apparent social standing and the public political attitude of his neighbor, should lose the respect of his fellow men. If we are to continue a clean, progressive, earnest public service, then we must create politicians of the same caliber.

The United States is in need of such young men, and let us hope that our colleges, our farms, and our business marts will develop them. Let us hope that they may be able to grasp the opportunities now spread before them on all sides, and make the nation even greater than it is. There is no hope for the idle in this age; but there are great hopes for the shrewd, tenacious, energetic man, whose brains have been rounded into proper shape by a good American education. If a young man feels that his abilities are such as to make him an official, he should enter politics; but, once in the arena, he should not be seeking, seeking continually. My experience is that business men make the best politicians. There are many instances to attest this statement, notably the case of Senator Platt, of New York, whose great business intelligence has been invaluable. This has been responsible, in a great measure, for his success. The educated man in politics is becoming more and more a potent factor and necessity. If there are any young men training for politics, let me tell them that they will never regret gaining all the knowledge within their grasp.

The success of men in politics is not so frequent as the success of men in business. Some have not the mental endurance to remain in politics, for politics brooks many defeats. But

the man who would be a true politician must laugh at defeat, and must not consider it defeat at all, but take up his burden where the citizens dropped it, and fight the battle anew. Only such men have won; only the men who have been defeated year after year, who have faced the bitterest phases of despair, contumely, and contempt, but who have raised their banner after each defeat, and carried it, finally, to glory. There were times, in my early political life, when I felt that any further attempts to gain political recognition were as hopeless as recalling the lost past. But I had entered the fight to win, and had determined not to let any defeat stand in the path of that determination.

Some men never were intended for a political life, and, therefore, their success is forever wanting. These men lack the personality that makes the true politician. They lack the patience that must never cease to be the politician's chief virtue, no matter how severely it is taxed; they lack the art of knowing how to represent a community of persons of all shades of political beliefs, or they enter upon a career of grasping greed and individual preferment which they find cut short—and none too soon. I have no sympathy with the tendency of a certain class of citizens to decry, on the ground that it is degrading, an honest association with men of affairs in politics, or the men who cannot regard an interest in civil polity as a duty that the citizen owes to his country. Nor have I any sympathy for the office-holding politician who has no other aim in life except to draw his salary. I have very little sympathy for the men who are in politics for their own gain. Such men are necessary only in the positions they ultimately fill—clerkships. I cannot regard such men as politicians, and not one ever becomes a leader.

The field of politics is not small, but it is clearly a matter of the survival of the fittest. It is far from being filled, but I do not regard any profession or business as being filled. As Daniel Webster said, "There is always room at the top."

Every young man should be ready and able to discuss the affairs of his country, and do his share of the work of keeping the politics of his party clean. The future of the land is with

the young men, and the longer the nation lasts, and the more powerful it becomes the more serious becomes the duty of its citizens. The young men should remember that the future welfare of the nation makes it necessary for them to become identified with one party or another, but they must remember, more than all else that, no matter what party or what principles they adopt, their participation should be based upon the intelligence of good judgment. They should remember that the man who casts his ballot, after he has weighed and studied and debated every phase of the conditions set before him, is just as much a politician as the man whom he may elect to put those conditions into practice. Individual politics should be his master. I have very little regard for a man who makes politics a business. But every man should make it his duty to take just as much interest in politics as he takes in his business. Activity and interest in the welfare of the nation, on the part of its citizens, tend to guide and influence the action and policy of the government, and make it a benefactor of the people. A stagnant and disinterested condition on the part of the citizens places the nation in the hands of a few who would use it for their own good. The prosperity of the United States of America rests solely with her people, and they must manipulate the conditions of that prosperity by their votes.

Every political organization must have for its basic motive some well-defined doctrine and belief in regard to the government and its functions, and the relation of the individual citizen to the collective whole. Its members must be patriotic and sincere. It follows, then, that those who make such a party must constitute the thinking citizens of a state or nation, whose representatives or office-holders are likely, in their turn, to be capable, earnest, right-thinking men. This is an ideal condition of things, it is true, but one not impossible of attainment.

Business, the professions, and politics, are in need of men with a determination to succeed. The idea that the combinations of capital, the so-called trusts, are a detriment and drawback to men who wish to open new business ventures, is a fallacy. There are thousands of small business ventures prosper-

ing, all over the country, because the men who conduct them know the secret of competition and have the ability to compete with any adversary. Business competition is still the lubricator that produces trade, and trade makes the commercial standing of a country, and it is not necessary for me to tell of the commercial standing of the United States.

Hold fast to your ideals. That is what I call a good motto. Be cautious about being of a vacillating nature. Young men should weigh well the abandonment of a course once begun, no matter what apparently dread specters appear in the path. Life is short and the time allotted to us for making our career is shorter, and those are the most fortunate who steer away from the dim horizon of uncertainty and distraction. The perpetuity of an undertaking means its victory.

Whatever the world has chosen for you, perform your part in it like a man. The most absurd theory that men and women can take to heart is the one that the world owes them a living, and that it should be forced to pay it. The world needs the assistance of mankind, but only in order that it may bestow in return its many good things. And every one, young or old, should do his utmost in his chosen field to help along the work of the world. If it had not been for the progress of education and labor, the present condition would have been a sorry one. There are those who, having arrived at a certain age, feel that they are too late to go ahead. The time for effort is never past; the age for learning is never over. Those who feel that their sphere of usefulness is at an end are those who make up the ranks of the idle, the discontented, the complaining, and the indisposed, and become the shipwrecks of existence.

By hard work, the exercise of mental faculties, strictly obeying the rules of honor, daring to do right, and observing kindness and gentleness, success will come to any man—whether in business or in politics.

THE UNIT OF AUTHORITY

THE CITIZEN IN HIS RELATION TO OFFICE-HOLDERS

The Unit of Authority

By HERBERT WELSH

UNDER all forms of effective government there is naturally a center of authority and of honor. This center is to men's physical sight, as to the inward eye of the spirit, the personification of the nation as a whole. In old times, when royalty was a reality and not merely a social survival of a once living political force, or even in modern times where it still remains vital, the king was, or is, the center of authority and of honor. He was the fountain from whence power, favor, and honor flowed. It was so in our mother land, England, and it was so naturally and of right. The authority of the nation, the power to plan and to do, had to be lodged somewhere, and in times when the many were both weak and ignorant, and when the few were also ignorant but strong, when these fortunate latter persons had at least the power to devise and to execute, it was but natural and fitting that their prerogative should be fully recognized and loyally upheld by their fellows, and that the foremost and most representative man among these privileged few—the king—should legally and morally, on the written page and in men's hearts and imaginations, be the center of authority. The crown truly was placed on the king's brow and the scepter truly in his hand, and the royal purple covered his shoulders.

But authority unlimited, unrestrained, is a weight that weak human nature never has been able to bear without stumbling

under it. Its tendency to breed tyrants of men who, but for this temptation, might have been good, is proverbial, and so a House of Lords, a body of nobles, which should to a certain degree hold the king in check—sharing and restraining his authority, became an inevitably natural condition existing with the exercise of royal power. For centuries it has been so in the land whence we came. But with the widening of men's minds, through the growth of peaceful industries and the steady diffusion of general knowledge, the influence of the interests of those who were neither of royal descent nor the offspring of noble families, made itself more and more felt. A House of Commons struggled on through the centuries with the royal prerogative and a House of Lords. The incidents of the struggle varied according to times and conditions; the popular side might be strong and assertive, as in the time of the elder Charles, when that weak and vacillating monarch tempted the Commons to strike a vigorous blow, and when, through the opportunity offered by a leader of genius, that blow was delivered with fatal effect. Or the royal side might be momentarily victorious, as in the times of Charles II., when the current of political reaction was running strong; but it was nevertheless true that the popular cause was steadily advancing, the royal cause weakening. The Commons were slowly curbing the prerogative of the king. It was an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary process, the perfectly natural and legitimate result of changing conditions.

European civilization generally, Anglo-Saxon civilization especially, was moving toward a fuller acknowledgment of the requirements of the individual man, as a child of God, as a member of the body politic, and a recognition of his rights as the outcome of his requirements. He had become more than he had been, and he must receive more to satisfy the larger existence into which he was being born.

The prerogative of the king was contracting with the king's diminishing size as a political entity; the prerogative of the man, of the "subject," as he continues by an anachronism to be called, was expanding.

On the virgin soil of the New World, civilized man—mainly

of Anglo-Saxon origin—found himself “set in a large room.” He came with Old World traditions, (but he came with the least restraining of them, for he was himself the exile of their most pronounced tyranny) to subdue vast, unconquered nature, and to battle with savage man and beasts. He performed his appointed task, and, left free to expand and mature the best that was in him, he began slowly to work out new forms of man’s salvation, and to evolve a new national type. Partly English Roundhead, partly English Cavalier, partly English Quickest, or Quaker, partly English Catholic and French Huguenot, and Dutch Protestant, but in each case being a protestant against some form of tyranny, he was working out in his own especial region of the Atlantic coast line the new political and social type—the American. He was fashioning a people free from caste and prejudice, with larger ideas of personal and political liberty, with a tenderer sympathy for humanity at large, with a larger material and practical ability, and, in all lines of intellectual endeavor, with more initiative and more self reliance than the world had yet seen.

The American Revolution, which came naturally and in the fulness of time, was like most transitions of man in his individual progress from a lower to a higher sphere, something of a revelation to the particular subjects of it. It awoke scattered colonists, in some instances of different and hostile nationalities, or at least of sharply opposed religious views, to the great fact that they were becoming a moral and social unit, as they had become a political unit. In this new birth, with its intoxicating, scarcely understood freedom, its undefined, vast, material possibilities, its release from oppression and danger of conflict with other nations, the citizen—a subject no longer—assumed a position of dignity and power never before realized under any political state in the world. With the declaration of political independence of Great Britain, and, subsequently with the adoption of the Constitution, the American citizen placed on his own brow the crown of authority, grasped in his own strong right hand the scepter of power, and covered his own hard-worked shoulders with the ermine and purple of kingly honor. It was the moment of the actual coronation of the English

freeman; it was the assumption of a power that may here truly be called royal, hitherto associated only with the pageantry of a coronation. It was an invisible crown with power, not a visible one without power, that the American citizen assumed.

In this theory of the American Constitution, and in actual fact, the President of the United States, the highest executive officer in the land, is only the representative and servant of the humblest citizen, armed with the ballot. To the citizen, even the President is responsible for his every official act, and all his official acts must be performed under strictly defined constitutional limitations. The citizen's law-making representatives, whether in state or federal spheres of political action, are likewise responsible to him, as the unit of power and of honor. Not only can he vote them out of office as he had voted them in, thus finally approving or condemning their stewardship of delegated powers, but constantly in the long interim between elections—those stated periods when the citizen performs his highest functions—the Constitution guarantees him the rights of free speech and a free press. These are most practical and invaluable privileges by which he is enabled fully and unrestrainedly to discuss the manner in which his representatives conduct public affairs, pointing out therein anything that may be amiss or not to his liking.

If at any time, for one cause or another, the American citizen forgets the existence of this great function of his, or is indifferent to its value, or suffers himself to be intimidated from making use of it, that does not prove that the right does not exist or that it cannot be rendered serviceable.

The institution of negro slavery in the United States, and its forced development, due to the increased commercial value of cotton, created in the Northern and Southern states divergent and antagonistic forces of civilization. The Civil War was the result. The institution of slavery was extinguished, and the conditions of industry have gradually become practically uniform in both sections, so that the people of the long separated sections will, under similar influences of industry, education, and religious ideals, become one.

But issues of perhaps as great moment as that raised by

slavery are confronting the United States to-day. One of the greatest of these is engendered by the inevitable tendency of our political life to become sordid and, in a low sense, professional; devoid of any moral life, without high ideals, or inspiring aims. It is quite natural that it should be so under the powerful material influences which present conditions, not only in the United States but in the world at large, create in modern society. With us on this side of the Atlantic these influences are intensified. The predominating ambition among us is the creation and the accumulation of wealth. A virgin soil, the material improvements of the age to which the inventive genius of our people has so largely contributed, all put us in the forefront of the world's wealth-getters. This tendency is so strong, that, in the fierce competition which exists, ethical considerations are apt to be forgotten. The higher problems of statesmanship and the finer interests of human progress drop out of sight. The very desire to ponder, to comprehend these problems, and to solve them, either dies in men's minds, or the moral atmosphere through which they regard them becomes tinged with the prevailing materialism. What is likely to result from such conditions? The final issue, it would seem, unless some practical remedy be found, must inevitably be a lapse to precisely that state of autocratic power—the reverse of the democratic ideal—which the Fathers of the Republic sought to escape from, to gain emancipation from which they made such heroic sacrifices. The machinery of government has become with us, whether we consider its workings in our great cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia—or whether in the national sphere, largely controlled by corporate commercial demands or the varied forms of individual self-interest. If the tendency be not checked by some counterbalancing force, that can be readily harnessed to effect its purpose and placed within the easy reach of the public at large, then the democratic ideal toward which the moral struggle of past centuries seems to have been tending, cannot be attained. Instead of the citizen—intelligent, instructed, moral, existing as the unit of power, and acting through all executives and all legislative representatives for his own protection and benefit, and for the

general good of mankind—instead of realizing this noble and beautiful ideal which has been the bright dream of our greatest statesmen, thinkers, poets, and philosophers, and which the most liberal and advanced minds of other nations have trusted that we would attain, we find ourselves moving toward a very different issue. Instead of the citizen, endowed with the most absolute freedom consistent with law, being the unit of power, a blind and immoral aggregation of wealth will be that unit. It will be a unit of power irresponsible to public sentiment and disobedient to all laws that it does not find convenient to obey. It will be a unit of power tending to make all political organizations and all instruments of government, whether military or civil, obedient to its will. Any protest against its desires upon the part of an individual citizen, any free expression of opinion, the right to which is now guaranteed by the Constitution, it will regard as one of the most serious of offenses and will punish accordingly. If the center of political authority ever completely shifts from the individual citizen, where with us it has so long rested and where theoretically it still belongs, to some form of organized wealth acting through corrupt political organizations, it can no more afford to permit free speech and a free press than could an absolute monarch permit these primary necessities of a democracy. But the tendency of affairs moves in that direction now, indifferent though many of us be to the truth, and long though the journey may be before the tendency be a consummated fact.

What, then, is the remedy? What is the line of reform to be adopted, if the United States is to move steadily forward toward a realization of the free democratic ideals in which the citizen is in reality a sovereign and the unit of power? The answer, in theory, is quite simple. The difficulties, in a way, are those of a purely practical nature. The citizen must use his citizenship. This function, like those in the physical body, atrophies through disuse. That is all. His old-fashioned, high ideals are attainable if he has a mind to attain them. He must magnify his office. He must think on great public subjects, and state boldly to his fellow citizens and to his political representatives his conclusions when he has duly reached

them. He must write, and speak, and act with a strong conviction that what he says through these natural channels for the communication of thought and belief, and what he does, will have their proper weight and influence. His word will not return to him void. It will do so less in this country and this latter time than ever before in the history of the world. His influence for good will, in some ways, be stronger for the very reason that he holds no official position—that he is a simple citizen. If he feels deeply, if he speaks sincerely, if he really aims to strengthen what is true and right, to befriend the weak, and ignorant, and helpless, to advance the general good, in a word, to be a true citizen, it will not be long before his fellows will understand and respect his motives, and his efforts shall achieve a reasonable measure of success. No one will more respect the unofficial worker for the public good than does the official worker for personal ends, however much he may try to misrepresent the unofficial citizen's motives, or to thwart his efforts. This official, who would like permanently to usurp the place of the sovereign citizen and to rob him of his authority, knows well that the citizen holds it by an inborn right.

Those who have had almost a quarter of a century's experience in organized, voluntary, and gratuitous work of a nature partly philanthropic and partly political—a work in which the force employed to produce results is solely that of public sentiment—feel hopeful and strong, rather than discouraged, as they look back over past years. They have seen all well-directed efforts reach a measure of success; every frank appeal to the public conscience, based on a clear statement of facts in each particular case and of the reasons for such action as was advocated by them, meets with a cordial response. In each instance, when the citizen has so appealed to his free fellow citizens, power has been evolved, and that power has had its legitimate effect in providing a remedy for a wrong or in pushing through some good work that halted or stumbled for the lack of a helping hand.

But such work as that done by citizens' leagues and reform associations, or the Indian Rights Association, needs to be indefinitely multiplied. The rich privilege, the great duty of

American citizenship needs to be intellectually apprehended, morally grasped, by each one of us. And then each must make an honest, brave use of our stewardship. The forces which threaten our democracy were never so powerful nor so threatening as they are to-day, but the converse is also true, the forces at our disposal to meet and to overcome the danger were never greater or readier to our hand. It is a great time in which to live, for never did the individual man have at his disposal for the moral and intellectual battle of his life a more formidable armory than that with which the American citizen is equipped. What is required is that our people should be awakened to a clear view of the situation and to a sense of individual power and personal responsibility.

POLITICAL DISHONESTY

THE CITIZEN IN HIS RELATION TO OFFICE-HOLDERS

Political Dishonesty

By HENRY WARD BEECHER

POLITICAL dishonesty breeds dishonesty of every kind. It is possible for good men to permit single sins to co-exist with general integrity, where the evil is indulged through ignorance. Once, undoubted Christians were slave-traders. They might be, while unenlightened; but not in our times. A state of mind which will intend one fraud will, upon occasions, intend a thousand. He that upon one emergency will lie, will be supplied with emergencies. He that will perjure himself to save a friend will do it, in a desperate juncture, to save himself. The highest Wisdom has informed us that he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much. Circumstances may withdraw a politician from temptation to any but political dishonesty; but, under temptation, a dishonest politician would be a dishonest cashier—would be dishonest anywhere—in anything. The fury which destroys an opponent's character would stop at nothing, if barriers were thrown down. That which is true of the leaders in politics is true of subordinates. Political dishonesty in voters runs into general dishonesty, as the rotten speck taints the whole apple. A community whose politics is conducted by a perpetual breach of honesty on both sides, will be tainted by immorality throughout. Men will play the same game in their private affairs that they have learned to play in public matters. The guile, the crafty vigilance, the dishonest advantage, the cunning sharpness, the tricks and traps and sly evasions, the equivocal promises, and

unequivocal neglect of them, which characterize political action, will equally characterize private action. The mind has no kitchen to do its dirty work in, while the parlor remains clean. Dishonesty is an atmosphere; if it comes into one apartment, it penetrates into every one. Whoever will lie in politics, will lie in traffic. Whoever will slander in politics, will slander in personal squabbles. A professor of religion who is a dishonest politician is a dishonest Christian. His creed is a perpetual index of his hypocrisy.

The genius of our government directs the attention of every citizen to politics. Its spirit reaches the uttermost bound of society, and pervades the whole mass. If its channels are slimy with corruption, what limit can be set to its malign influence? The turbulence of elections, the virulence of the press, the desperation of bad men, the hopelessness of efforts which are not cunning, but only honest, have driven many conscientious men from any concern with politics. This is suicidal. Thus the tempest will grow blacker and fiercer. Our youth will be caught up in its whirling bosom and dashed to pieces, and its hail will break down every green thing. At God's house the cure should begin. Let the hand of discipline smite the leprous lips which shall utter the profane heresy: All is fair in politics. If any hoary professor, drunk with the mingled wine of excitement, shall tell our youth that a Christian man may act in politics by any other rule of morality than that of the Bible; and that wickedness performed for a party is not as abominable as if done for a man; or that any necessity justifies or palliates dishonesty in word or deed—let such a one go out of the camp, and his pestilent breath no longer spread contagion among our youth. No man who loves his country should shrink from her side when she groans with raging distempers. Let every Christian man stand in his place; rebuke every dishonest practice; scorn a political as well as a personal lie; and refuse with indignation to be insulted by the solicitation of an immoral man. Let good men of all parties require honesty, integrity, veracity, and morality in politics, and there, as powerfully as anywhere else, the requisitions of public sentiment will ultimately be felt.

THE INDEPENDENT
IN POLITICS

THE CITIZEN IN HIS RELATION TO OFFICE-HOLDERS

The Independent in Politics

By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

THE progress of liberty is the history of party; Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, Jefferson and Hamilton, Washington and Lincoln, were all party men. In England, John Pym and John Hampden, Burke and Fox, Pitt and Peel, and to-day Gladstone, Bright, and Beaconsfield, are party leaders. The repeal of the Corn Laws, the Reform Bill of 1832, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, as in our own country the freedom of the territories, the vigorous prosecution of the war to save the government itself and to secure constitutional guaranties of equal rights to equal citizens, were all party triumphs. They were the results of tremendous and bitter contests. Here is the secret of the romance of party loyalty, upon which politicians trade. It is a sentiment indeed, but so is love, so is patriotism, so is religion. If this makes independence within the party difficult, it is none the less indispensable, and those who sneer at it as incompatible with the conditions of party forget that it is only independence within the party which secures political progress by means of party. The vital point in every political party is its independent element, and from that, and from that alone, springs political progress.

It is true that party action becomes impossible if every member insists upon having his own way; there must be, undoubtedly, general concession and sacrifice of mere personal preference; but every member must also decide for himself

how far this may go, and where it must end. No member has a right to appeal to another to stand by the party who does not do what he can to make that party worth standing by. A party is made efficient only through men. It is necessarily judged by its candidate, and if its members support unworthy candidates to-day, for the sake of the party, they make it all the easier to support unworthier candidates to-morrow. If I agree to vote for Jeremy Diddler to-day, because he is the regularly selected standard-bearer of the grand old party of honesty and reform, I cannot refuse to vote for Benedict Arnold to-morrow, because he is the standard-bearer of the grand old party of independence and patriotic glory. If the reply be that no one pretends that we ought to vote for candidates of bad character, I answer that a candidate who for any reason justly discredits the party and thereby imperils its success, and consequently its objects, is, from the party point of view, an unfit man, and fidelity to the party demands the rejection of the candidate.

A system is rapidly developing itself, which usurps the political initiative, the vital point of popular government, and which rules in the name of the party, as the meanest king was said to rule by the grace of God. This system is known as the "machine." The machine is an oligarchy, a combination, a ring or clique of professional politicians, of men who live by the emoluments of official place. In a popular government, an election is an appeal to the people. In this country, under our complicated system, it is a series of events of which the first is the action of the primary meeting. And that first action is decisive. Our government begins at the primary, and whoever or whatever controls that controls the government. That is the fountain, and if that is tainted the whole stream will be poisoned.

It is true that there is immense political indifference among good citizens, and that, even if all barriers were removed, multitudes of intelligent men would still neglect their political duty.

While good men sit at home, not knowing that there is anything to be done, nor caring to know, cultivating the feeling that politics is tiresome and dirty, and politicians vulgar

bullies and bravoos, half persuaded that a republic is the contemptible rule of the mob, and secretly longing for a strong man and a splendid and vigorous despotism, then remember it is not a government mastered by ignorance, it is a government betrayed by intelligence. It is not the victory of the slums, it is the surrender of the schools. It is not that bad men are politically shrewd, it is that good men are political infidels and cowards.

The challenge is fair, and I answer at once that there are two practicable and perfectly effective remedies for the monster evil which threatens our politics. One is individual and immediate. The other is general and radical. The first, which is immediately available, is a short and easy method with the "machine," requiring no elaborate organization, open to every voter,—a method which, if put in force by every man who wishes to strike a blow for decent politics, would summarily overthrow the machine in the least time and with the smallest of weapons, for the weapon is but a pencil or a pen, and the time is only a moment necessary for a scratch.

But useful as scratching is as a corrective, it does not strike at the heart of the machine, and it is therefore only a corrective and not a radical remedy. That can be found only by finding the source of the power of the machine, and that source is official patronage. It is the command of millions of the public money spent in public administration, the control of the vast labyrinth of place, with its emoluments, the system which makes the whole civil service, to the least detail, and the most insignificant position, the spoils of party victory. It is this system which perverts necessary party organization into intolerable party despotism. It is upon this that the hierarchy of the machine is erected. The spoils system compels every voter in the country either to devote his whole time to politics, as those who live by politics do, or to lose all practical political power whatever. Instead, therefore, of being essential to party government, the spoils system is hostile to the very object of party in a free government, and destroys the principle of government itself. In the State of New York and in the State of Pennsylvania, this system has already so far sup-

planted the American principle—the fundamental principle of liberty—that the important Republican question in New York is not, What does the party wish, but what does Mr. Conkling say? And in Pennsylvania, not, What is the conviction of the party, but what does Mr. Cameron mean to do?

Once made universal at every point and throughout the country, both in the state and national service, the system which has been adopted for a year in the New York post-office and the New York custom house, in which three quarters of the revenue of the country is collected, and the machine would disappear. The administration of President Hayes has been arraigned and sharply criticised for inexplicable inconsistencies and for surrender to the evil system; but when its faults are all told, it still remains true that this administration has done far more for the actual reform of the civil service than any other in our history.

Courage, then, gentlemen, and forward! Let us, who believe this reform to be a measure of the most vital importance, not a panacea for all political ills, not the harbinger of the millennium, but the most practicable method of remedying immense abuse and averting imminent dangers, remember that if every step of political progress has been secured by party, yet that individual conviction and independence have made parties. Our fathers were willing subjects of the crown so long as the crown obeyed the law. But when the king became a despot, they shook off king and crown together. We are Americans, born of freedom, and we are recreant Americans if we do not hold ourselves as much the enemies of the despotism of a party as our fathers were enemies of the tyranny of a king.

HOME AND EDUCATION

NATION BUILDING, PROGRESS AND PATRIOTISM

Home and Education

THE organized household, with its system of government and its domestic economy, forms a miniature society, a school of discipline. Parental affection supplies care, patience, and loving persistence, by which alone the best results can be secured. Children are trained to prompt instinctive habits, which are often more useful than reasoned conduct; they learn to practice subordination and obedience, which are so necessary in social tasks of coöperation; in their relations with brothers, sisters, and parents, they are taught principles of justice, and sentiments of courtesy and kindness, which make true social life possible; they are specially trained, usually with the aid of schools and other institutions, to perform certain of the tasks which society imposes upon its members, and thus are prepared to take their places in the social organism.

SMALL AND VINCENT.

The man who kindles the fire on the hearth-stone of an honest and righteous home burns the best incense to liberty. He does not love mankind less who loves his neighbor most. Exalt the citizen. As the state is the unit of government, he is the unit of the state. Teach him that his home is his castle, and his sovereignty rests beneath his hat. Make him self-respecting, self-reliant, and responsible. Let him lean on the **state** for nothing that his own arm can do, and on the **government** for nothing that his state can do. Let him cultivate

independence to the point of sacrifice, and learn that humble things with unbartered liberty are better than splendors bought with its price.

HENRY W. GRADY.

The fireside, the pulpit, the school, and the shop must be linked and leagued together. Each must help every other. Home must connect itself in all its firm authorities, sweet affections, and tender influences, with pulpit, school, and shop. Pulpit must send its reverence, faith, and hope, its lofty moral and religious standards, and its sacred magnetisms into home, school, and shop. School must reach, with its habits of honest, concentrated, and continuous thinking, its wealth of learning and its broad horizons, pulpit, home, and shop; and shop must put its knowledge of men and things, its tact, industry, and economy, and its wholesome common sense into the administrations of the family, the utterances of the pulpit, and the instructions of the school.

JOHN H. VINCENT.

The Nature of Law

THE law does not say to a man, "Work, and I will reward you;" but it says to him, "Work, and by stopping the hand that would take them from you, I will insure to you the fruits of your labor, its natural and sufficient reward, which, without me, you could not preserve." If industry creates, it is the law which preserves; if, at the first moment, we owe everything to labor, at the second, and every succeeding moment, we owe everything to the law.

JEREMY BENTHAM.

Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate, and I will name property; name me power and I will name protection. It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics, to say that any man can have arbitrary power.

In every patent of office the duty is included. For what else does a magistrate exist? To suppose for power is an

absurdity in idea. Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice, to which we are all subject. We may bite our chains, if we will; but we shall be made to know ourselves, and be taught that man is born to be governed by *law*, and he that will substitute *will* in the place of it is an enemy to God.

EDMUND BURKE.

The Anglo-Saxon race, from which we inherit so much that is valuable in our character as well as our institutions, has been remarkable in all its history for a love of law and order. I but repeat the language of the Supreme Court of the United States when I say that "in this country the law is supreme." No man is so high as to be above law. No officer of the government may disregard it with impunity. To this inborn and native regard for law, a governing power, we are largely indebted for the wonderful success and prosperity of our people, for the security of our rights; and, when the highest law to which we pay this homage is the Constitution of the United States, the history of the world has furnished no such wonder of a prosperous, happy, civil government.

SAMUEL F. MILLER.

Implicit obedience to law and the mandates of duly organized courts is the vital principle of free, elective government. Upon it rest the pillars of the Republic. No grievance, however great, can justify a resort to lawless violence for its redress. If the time shall ever come when obedience to law can be maintained only by the strong arm of military power, despotism or anarchy is near at hand. It is for the living generations to see to it that the fruits of free constitutional government, garnered by the sacrifices of the heroic dead, are not wasted in the future, and that the priceless legacy of liberty bequeathed by our fathers shall be transmitted unimpaired to coming times.

GALUSHA A. GROW.

No man's property is safe, and no man's welfare is assured, where justice is denied to the poor, or where crime goes unpunished; no state can prosper, however rich the land or varied

the resources, where human rights are not respected. If states can not, or do not, govern themselves justly, and accord an equal chance to all their citizens, their influence in the councils of the nation must be small indeed.

DAVID A. WELLS.

Mob law is a crime, whether in the hands of strikers trying to maintain a monopoly of labor, or in the hands of citizens of the vicinage, manifesting their virtue or getting their revenge by putting a man to death without warrant of law.

CHARLES A. DANA.

The anarchists are natural and avowed social rebels. The disease which we are examining is an old-fashioned one, with an old-fashioned name, which scarcely seems to have a place in science any longer; namely, sin, rebellion. It is said that Cain was the first anarchist. But there is a story of an older, and far more powerful anarchist, the king of all anarchists, that arch-rebel Satan. This does no injustice to the anarchists, because the founder of modern anarchy, Michael Bakounin, delights to honor Satan.

RICHARD T. ELY.

Freedom of Thought and Speech

THIS is the appropriate region of human liberty. It comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness, demanding liberty of conscience in the most comprehensive sense; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological. Secondly, the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow, without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them, even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong. Thirdly, from this liberty of each individual, follows the liberty, within the same limits, of combination among indi-

viduals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others; the persons combining being supposed to be of full age, and not forced or deceived.

JOHN STUART MILL.

Liberty, in its absolute sense, means the faculty of willing and the power of doing what has been willed, without influence from any other source, or from without. It means self-determination; unrestrainedness of action. In this absolute meaning there is but one free Being, because there is but one Being whose will is absolutely independent of any influence but that which He wills himself, and whose power is adequate to His absolute will—who is almighty.

FRANCIS LIEBER.

The power of thought has been given to us for the discernment of the truth, and there are no proper limits to its exercise but those which the truth itself has set. Freedom of thought is an inalienable birthright of the human soul. To abridge it through governmental interference by punishing one for his opinion is an intolerable despotism. Freedom of speech and of the press follow from the right of free thought, and these are especially guarded in our different Constitutions, the Constitution of the Union declaring that Congress shall make no law abridging "the freedom of speech or of the press." But here we need to note the difference between freedom and license. Freedom of speech or of the press does not mean unlimited permission to speak or write or print whatever one pleases. However unlimited may be one's right to his own opinions, he may, by uttering these, invade the rights of others, and this he has no right to do. He may not become a disturber of the public peace by inciting, through speech or print, to sedition or public violence. He may not become a corrupter of morals by printing pestilential literature. He may not injure the good name of another by slander or libel. It may not be always easy to determine just when and where governmental interference should take place, but the principle is clear, that while every person may hold his own opinions without molestation from the

government, any expression of these which interferes with the public freedom the public, through its government, has the right to put down.

JULIUS H. SEELYE.

The more we consider the independence of the press in its principal consequences, the more are we convinced that it is the chief, and, so to speak, the constitutive element of freedom in the modern world. A nation which is determined to remain free is therefore right in demanding the unrestrained exercise of its independence.

ALEXIS C. H. DE TOCQUEVILLE.

Freedom of Worship

A CAREFUL examination of the American Constitutions will disclose the fact that nothing is more fully set forth, or more plainly expressed, than the determination of their authors to preserve and perpetuate religious liberty and to guard against the slightest approach toward the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens, which shall have for its basis only their differences of religious belief. The American people came to the work of framing their fundamental laws, after centuries of religious oppression and persecution had taught them the utter futility of all attempts to propagate religious opinions by the rewards, penalties, or terrors of human laws. While careful to establish, protect, and defend religious freedom and equality, the American Constitutions contain no provisions which prohibit the authorities from such solemn recognition of a superintending Providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires, and seems meet and proper in finite and dependent beings.

THOMAS COOLEY.

The arrangement of God which makes man's conscience his guide to action, is beneficent every way. The results will be seen in the end in a purer piety; in a nobler self-devotion; in a grander and more powerful grasp of the principles of duty; in a

more exalted communion with God in His holiness; in a higher disregard of the blandishments of time; in a mightier unfolding of all spiritual force; in a deeper impression on the history of the world.

RICHARD S. STORRS.

For me, though censured, threatened, persecuted, I must profess, while heaven and earth last, that no one tenent that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the present, to the eternal good of all men as the bloody tenent (however washed and whited), I say, as is the bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The whole history of the Christian religion shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance with the civil power than of being crushed by its opposition.

THOMAS B. MACAULAY.

Religious liberty, like civil liberty, the liberty of speech, the liberty of the press, and every other liberty, is liable to abuse and consequent punishment. Every man's liberty is limited by the golden rule, not to do unto others what we would not have them do unto us. Nobody has a right to trespass on the rights of his neighbor, or to do wrong. A government consults its own interest by protecting all and persecuting none.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

Our Constitution and Our Government

THE Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the states or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly upon the people individually, not upon the states—they retained all the power they did not

grant. But each state having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other states, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States is not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offense.

ANDREW JACKSON.

The American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.

WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

I confess I do not often envy the United States, but there is one feature in their institutions which appears to me the subject of the greatest envy—their magnificent institution of a Supreme Court.

MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

There never existed an example before of a free community spreading over such an extent of territory; and the ablest and profoundest thinkers, at the time, believed it to be utterly impracticable that there should be. Yet this difficult problem was solved—successfully solved—by the wise and sagacious men who framed our Constitution. No; it was above unaided human wisdom—above the sagacity of the most enlightened. It was the result of a fortunate combination of circumstances coöperating and leading the way to its formation; directed by that kind Providence which has so often and so signally disposed events in our favor.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Society can no more exist without government, in one form or another, than man without society. It is the political, then, which includes the social, that is, his natural state; it is the one for which his Creator formed him, into which he is impelled

irresistibly, and in which only his race can exist and all his faculties be fully developed. Such being the case, it follows that any—the worst—form of government is better than anarchy; and that individual liberty or freedom must be subordinate to whatever power may be necessary to protect society against anarchy within or destruction from without; for the safety and well-being of society are as paramount to individual liberty as the safety and well-being of the race is to that of individuals, and, in the same proportion, the power necessary for the safety of society is paramount to individual liberty.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

It is the function of civil government to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong

WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberty, and liberty is to be preserved only by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms, limited monarchies; but all republics, all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority, and give many positive and many qualified rights. In other words, they must be subject to rule and regulation. This is the very essence of free political institutions.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Since the final end of life is the development of character, government is to be tested, not by the temporal and immediate advantages which it may afford, but by its power to promote the development of true men and women. No government accomplishes this end so effectively as democratic government. Since democratic government is self-government, it introduces every man into the school of experience—of all schools the one in which the training is most thorough and the progress most rapid. The gradual and increasing effect of democracy is to give to its pupils, in lieu of a faith in some unknown God, first

faith in humanity and then in God, as witnessed in life and experience of humanity; in lieu of a reverence for a few elect superiors, respect for all men; in lieu of a lethargic counterfeit of contentment, a far-reaching and inspiring, though sometimes too eager, hopefulness; and in lieu of an often servile submission to accidental masters, a spirit of sturdy independence and mutual fellowship. So does democracy, though by very gradual and often conflicting processes, produce the liberty of a universal brotherhood, and possess the secret of public peace, the promise of public prosperity, the hope of social righteousness, and inspiration to illimitable progress.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

The American system is a complete one, reaching down to the foundations, and the foundations are its most important portions. At the bottom lies the township, which divides the whole North and West into an infinity of little republics, each managing its own local affairs. In the old states they differ in their area and machinery. In the new states of the West they are more regular in size, being generally six miles square. Each township elects its own local officers and manages its own local affairs. Annually a town meeting is held of all the voters, and suffrage is limited only by citizenship. At these meetings, not only are the local officers elected, such as supervisors, town clerks, justices of the peace, road-masters, and the like, but money is appropriated for bridges, schools, libraries, and other purposes of a local nature.

Next above the township stands the county, an aggregate of a dozen or so of towns. Its officials—sheriffs, judge, clerks, registrars, and other officers to manage county affairs—are chosen at the general state election. It has also a local assembly, formed of the town supervisors. They audit accounts, supervise the county institutions, and legislate as to various county matters.

Above the counties, again, stands the state government, with its legislature, which passes laws relating to state affairs; and finally, the Federal government, which deals only with national concerns. The whole forms a consistent and harmonious sys-

tem, which reminded Matthew Arnold of a well-fitting suit of clothes, loose where it should be loose, and tight where tightness is an advantage.

DOUGLAS CAMPBELL.

The President of the United States is nothing more than an elective trustee or agent, chosen by the people to administer certain well-defined and specific trusts for them and as their representative. Our fathers formulated that portion of the Constitution which concerned the presidential office under a realizing sense of the evils they had suffered while subject to the caprices of a royal ruler, and guarded well against any assumption of power or prerogative by the individual which could threaten or endanger the liberty of the people. Over one hundred years of experience have proven the wisdom and foresight of the statesmen of the Revolution. They "planned wisely and builded well." The President is still the *servant* of the people. His powers are great, but the fear of absolutism or of usurpation of supreme authority by him never disturbs us. The nation, even in time of war, rests secure in the consciousness of its power to confine within constitutional limits the exercise of executive authority.

BENJAMIN F. TRACY.

But outside, and above, and beyond all this, is the people—steady, industrious, self-possessed, caring little for abstractions, and less for abstractionists, but with one deep, common sentiment, and with the consciousness, calm but quite sure and earnest, that in the Constitution and the Union, as they received them from their fathers, and as they themselves have observed and maintained them, is the sheet-anchor of their hope, the pledge of their prosperity, the palladium of their liberty; and with this is that other consciousness, not less calm and not less earnest, that in their own keeping exclusively, and not in that of any party leaders, or party demagogues, or political hacks or speculators, is the integrity of that Union and that Constitution. It is in the strong arms and honest hearts of the great masses, who are not members of Congress, nor holders of office, nor spouters at town-meetings, that resides the safety

of the state; and these masses, though slow to move, are irresistible, when the time and the occasion for moving come.

CHARLES KING.

I maintain that our democratic principle is not that the people are always right. It is this rather: that although the people may sometimes be wrong, yet that they are not so likely to be wrong and to do wrong, as irrepressible hereditary magistrates and legislators; that it is safer to trust the many with the keeping of their own interests, than it is to trust the few to keep those interests for them.

ORVILLE DEWEY.

The Nature and Development of Patriotism

IT is the love of the people, it is their attachment to their government from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

EDMUND BURKE.

That patriotism which, catching its inspiration from on high, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser, groveling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself—that is public virtue; that is the noblest, the sublimest of all public virtues! Personal or private courage is totally distinct from that higher and nobler courage which prompts the patriot to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice to his country's good.

HENRY CLAY.

What is it to be an American? Putting aside all the outer shows of dress and manners, social customs and physical peculiarities, is it not to believe in America and in the American people? Is it not to have an abiding and moving faith in the

future and in the destiny of America?—something above and beyond the patriotism and love which every man whose soul is not dead within him feels for the land of his birth? Is it not to be national and not sectional, independent and not colonial? Is it not to have a high conception of what this great new country should be, and to follow out that ideal with loyalty and truth?

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Have we not learned that not stocks nor bonds, nor stately houses nor lands, nor the product of the mill, is our country? It is a spiritual thought that is in our minds. It is the flag and what it stands for. It is its glorious history. It is the fireside and the home. It is the high thoughts that are in the heart, born of the inspiration which comes by the stories of their fathers, the martyrs to liberty; it is the grave-yards into which our careful country has gathered the unconscious dust of those who have died. Here, in these things, is that which we love and call our country, rather than in anything that can be touched or handled.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

With passionate heroism, of which tradition is never weary of tenderly telling, Arnold von Winkelried gathers into his bosom the sheaf of foreign spears, that his death may give life to his country. So Nathan Hale, disdaining no service that his country demands, perishes untimely, with no other friend than God and the satisfied sense of duty. So George Washington, at once comprehending the scope of the destiny to which his country was devoted, with one hand puts aside the crown, and with the other sets his slaves free. So, through all history from the beginning, a noble army of martyrs has fought fiercely and fallen bravely for that unseen mistress, their country. So, through all history to the end, as long as men believe in God, that army must still march and fight and fall—recruited only from the flower of mankind, cheered only by their own hope of humanity, strong only in their confidence in their cause.

GEORGE W. CURTIS.

In the war of the Revolution, when it was thought the cause was lost, men became inspired at the very mention of the

name of George Washington. In 1812, when we succeeded once more against the mother country, men were looking for a hero, and there rose before them that rugged, grim, independent old hero, Andrew Jackson. In the last and greatest of all wars, an independent and tender-hearted man was raised up by Providence to guide the helm of state through that great crisis, and men confidently placed the destinies of this great land in the hands of Abraham Lincoln. In the annals of our country, we find no man whose training had been so peaceful, whose heart was so gentle, whose nature was so tender, and yet who was called upon to marshal the hosts of the masses of the people during four years of remorseless and bloody and unrelenting fratricidal war.

HORACE PORTER.

And how is the spirit of a free people to be formed and animated and cheered, but out of the storehouse of its historic recollections? Are we to be eternally ringing the changes upon Marathon and Thermopylæ; and going back to read in obscure texts of Greek and Latin of the exemplars of patriotic virtue? I thank God that we can find them nearer home, in our own country, on our own soil; that strains of the noblest sentiment that ever swelled in the breast of man, are breathing to us out of every page of our country's history, in the native eloquence of our native tongue; that the colonial and provincial councils of America exhibit to us models of the spirit and character which gave Greece and Rome their name and their praise among the nations. Here we may go for our instruction; the lesson is plain, it is clear, it is applicable.

EDWARD EVERETT.

As the American youth, for uncounted centuries, shall visit the capital of his country—strongest, richest, freest, happiest of the nations of the earth—from the stormy coast of New England, from the luxurious regions of the Gulf, from the prairie and the plain, from the Golden Gate, from far Alaska—he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory.

He will find there rich libraries and vast museums, which

show the product of that matchless inventive genius of America, which has multiplied a thousandfold the wealth and comfort of human life. He will see the simple and modest portal through which the great line of the Republic's chief magistrates have passed, at the call of their country, to assume an honor surpassing that of emperors and kings, and through which they have returned, in obedience to her laws, to take their place again as equals in the ranks of their fellow citizens. He will stand by the matchless obelisk, which, loftiest of human structures, is itself but the imperfect type of the loftiest of human characters. He will gaze upon the marble splendors of the Capitol, in whose chambers are enacted the statutes under which the people of a continent dwell together in peace, and the judgments are rendered which keep the forces of states and nation alike within their appointed bounds. He will look upon the records of great wars and the statues of great commanders. But, if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, there is nothing in all these which will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers whose characters were traced by the hands of the fathers one hundred years ago. They are the original records of the acts which devoted this nation, forever, to equality, to education, to religion, and to liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other is the Ordinance of 1787.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

Meaning and Literature of the Flag

ALL hail to our glorious ensign! Courage to the heart, and strength to the hand, to which, in all time, it shall be entrusted! May it ever wave in honor, in unsullied glory, and patriotic hope, on the dome of the Capitol, on the country's stronghold, on the tented plain, on the wave-rocked topmast. Wherever, on the earth's surface, the eye of the American shall behold it, may he have reason to bless it! On whatsoever spot it is planted, there may freedom have a foothold, humanity a brave champion, and religion an altar. Though stained with

blood in a righteous cause, may it never, in any cause, be stained with shame. Alike, when its gorgeous folds shall wanton in lazy holiday triumphs on the summer breeze, and its tattered fragments be dimly seen through the clouds of war, may it be the joy and the pride of the American heart. First raised in the cause of right and liberty, in that cause alone may it forever spread out its streaming blazonry to the battle and the storm. Having been borne victoriously across the continent, and on every sea, may virtue, and freedom, and peace forever follow where it leads the way.

EDWARD EVERETT.

There is the national flag! He must be cold, indeed, who can look upon its folds rippling in the breeze without pride of country. If he be in a foreign land, the flag is companionship, and country itself with all its endearments. Who, as he sees it, can think of a state merely? Whose eye once fastened upon its radiant trophies can fail to recognize the image of the whole nation?

It has been called a "floating piece of poetry;" and yet I know not if it have any intrinsic beauty beyond other ensigns. Its highest beauty is in what it symbolizes. It is because it represents all, that all gaze at it with delight and reverence. It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air; but it speaks sublimely and every part has a voice. Its stripes of alternate red and white proclaim the original union of thirteen states to maintain the Declaration of Independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that union of states constituting our national constellation, which receives a new star with every new state. The two together signify union, past and present. The very colors have a language which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity, red for valor, blue for justice; and all together—bunting, stripes, stars, and colors, blazing in the sky—make the flag of our country, to be cherished by all our hearts, to be upheld by all our hands.

CHARLES SUMNER.

I have recently returned from an extended tour of the states, and nothing so impressed and so refreshed me as the

universal display of this banner of beauty and glory. It waved over the school-houses; it was in the hands of the school children. As we speeded across the sandy wastes at some solitary place, a man, a woman, a child, would come to the door and wave it in loyal greeting. Two years ago I saw a sight that has ever been present in my memory. As we were going out of the harbor of Newport, about midnight, on a dark night, some of the officers of the torpedo station had prepared for us a beautiful surprise. The flag at the depot station was unseen in the darkness of the night, when suddenly electric search lights were turned on it, bathing it in a flood of light. All below the flag was hidden, and it seemed to have no touch with earth, but to hang from the battlements of heaven. It was as if heaven was approving the human liberty and human equality typified by that flag.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

For myself, in our federal relations, I know but one section, one union, one flag, one government. That section embraces every state; that union is the Union sealed with the blood and consecrated by the tears of the Revolutionary struggle; that flag is the flag known and honored in every sea under heaven; which has borne off glorious victory from many a bloody battle field, and yet stirs with warmer and quicker pulsations the heart's blood of every true American, when he looks upon its stars and stripes. I will sustain that flag wherever it waves—over the sea or over the land. And when it shall be despoiled and disfigured, I will rally around it still, as the star-spangled banner of my fathers and my country; and, so long as a single stripe can be discovered, or a single star shall glimmer from the surrounding darkness, I will cheer it as the emblem of a nation's glory and a nation's hope.

DANIEL S. DICKINSON.

Behold it! Listen to it! Every star has a tongue; every stripe is articulate. "There is no language or speech where their voices are not heard." There is magic in the web of it. It has an answer for every question of duty. It has a solution

for every doubt and perplexity. It has a word of good cheer for every hour of gloom or of despondency. Behold it! Listen to it! It speaks of earlier and of later struggles. It speaks of victories, and sometimes of reverses, on the sea and on the land. It speaks of patriots and heroes among the living and the dead. But before all and above all other associations and memories, whether of glorious men, or glorious deeds, or glorious places, its voice is ever of Union and Liberty, of the Constitution and the Laws.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

In 1777, within a few days of one year after the Declaration of Independence, the Congress of the Colonies assembled and ordained this glorious national flag which we now hold and defend, and advanced it full high before God and all men, as the flag of liberty.

It was no holiday flag emblazoned for gayety or vanity. It was a solemn national signal. When that banner first unrolled to the sun, it was the symbol of all those holy truths and purposes which brought together the Colonial American Congress! Our flag means, then, all that our fathers meant in the Revolutionary War; it means all that the Declaration of Independence meant; it means all that the Constitution of our people, organizing for justice, for liberty, and for happiness, meant. Our flag carries American ideas, American history, and American feelings. Beginning with the colonies and coming down to our time, in its sacred heraldry, in its glorious insignia, it has gathered and stored chiefly this supreme idea—*divine right of liberty in man*. Every color means liberty; every thread means liberty; every form of star and beam or stripe of light means liberty: not lawlessness, not license; but organized, institutional liberty—liberty through law, and laws for liberty.

It is not a painted rag. It is a whole national history. It is the Constitution. It is the government. It is the free people that stand in the government on the Constitution. Forget not what it means; and for the sake of its ideas, be true to your country's flag.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

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